

ESSAYS ON THE MILLENNIUM • CHAREST GOES HOME

EXCLUSIVE:
Atom Egoyan's
Oscar Diary

CANADA'S

WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Maclean's

APRIL 6, 1998

When we were young

the Trudeau
phenomenon
30 years later

by Karsh, 1968

\$3.95



From The Editor

Watching history being made



Pierre Trudeau left reporters with the impression that he never read the papers and didn't care what they wrote about him. Not true. On two private occasions during the years I was Ottawa bureau chief for Maclean's between 1975 and 1982,

I heard Trudeau voice vigorous and detailed opinions about the media. The first was during the late 1970s at a breakfast in a choiceless hotel function room with a dozen national correspondents. Trudeau did not much like mornings and he was even less amused to find himself in the company of such lesser mortals at such an early hour. Broadcasting a stack of clippings, he ticked off what he said were the errors in a Montreal newspaper account about a shopping spree in Montreal by his wife, Margaret. The next time we broke bread, three ink-stained wretches—actually one elegant Radio-Canada correspondent and two scribbles—joined Trudeau at 12,000 m in his Harvard cabin for dinner as he flew home from official meetings in Tokyo. Trudeau rapped liberally on the subject and warned of another attack on the sloppy press corps. Finally, in an attempt to introduce some levity, I said: "Prime Minister, if we wrote about you far way you wrote about politicians in Quebec in the '50s, you would send the RCMP after us." Trudeau responded with a smile in his eye: "Not the RCMP—the army."

Trudeau was fun to cover. He always made a reporter's day extra—by saying nothing of the nation's. That he could be charming and witty in private—even with journalists—was not the point. There was also the sense of watching history in the making, by a

figure who was quite unlike anything that Canada had seen before. The recollections about this remarkable man and his exciting times, 30 years after his election as Liberal leader in April, 1980, are the subject of a 13-page retrospective by Maclean's staff contributor (page 16).

He painted with a very broad brush. But what was funny was that the every now and then anecdotes and anecdotes that also are part of the Trudeau story. He was always warm and comfortable with children, especially his own. On sunny afternoons in Venice, Trudeau turned out just another father during breakfast in the G7 Summit, strolling through Piazza San Marco, he lovingly watched his eldest son lead the pigeons—then dropped to one knee to snap a picture of Justin. His insecurities were legion. One Trudeau's intimates told me that during an argument one day with his boss about the inadequacies of the government's response to problems on the other side of the Rockies, the Prime Minister replied in exasperation, "I never understood the West."

Some of the insouciant style, I always thought was false bravado. Trudeau, a man who prefers solitary sports over team play, once observed that he had always felt vulnerable. "I know I can be as hurt as anyone," I said, "and therefore I don't—I never did—just let anybody at. Certainly for this book, the press seats were as close as it got."

Robert Lewis

Newsroom Notes:

Shooting Trudeau

Maclean's Photo Editor Peter Bragg was just 19 but already a staff photographer with The Canadian Press in Ottawa when Pierre Trudeau became leader of the Liberal party in 1968. Over the next decade and a half, the two often seemed inseparable as Trudeau, with Bragg and his cameras in tow, travelled across Canada and around



Bragg with Trudeau on the road

the world—from the South Pacific to the Northwest Territories to the Bed in Wall to the White House and the Taj Mahal. Really Bragg. "He once told me one of the reasons he liked me was that I didn't care a penny. The camera was only able to capture what he wanted to expose. There was no misunderstanding or misquoting."

Over the years, Bragg took tens of thousands of photos of Trudeau, including the famous 1968 recidive photo on page 1. "That one won a few awards," Bragg notes. This week's cover package was co-ordinated and edited by National Editor Peter Kopelman.



Bon Appétit.

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Your coverage of the homeless issue was moving and powerful, but the analytical story, "This is a human problem," didn't seem to be connected with the case histories. The cause of homelessness is not government policy, as indicated in your analysis. And if the causes that led to life on the street was not government-policy related, how can the solution be? In every instance, there was a breakdown of the spiritual and moral core of the person. The only lasting solution to the problem of homelessness in Canada is for a deep and authentic spirituality to sweep over our nation.

Ann Little,
Toronto

The idea that I, and Canadians as a whole, should "develop a more caring society," as University of Calgary's Harry Miller puts it, is grossly unfair to the majority of Canadians who also suffered through tough childhoods or work-related injuries. While I don't doubt that once trapped as a life on the street it's difficult to escape, I would seriously question the decision-making process that leads an individual there. None of the six examples in your article seems to have been destined to a life on the streets. Rather, each person made their own choices, and made the wrong decision. Anyone can turn to drugs or alcohol or gambling to make their problems go away temporarily, but not everyone does.

Patrick Meade,
Kelowna, Ont.

Your piece on the homeless in Canada was excellent. The socioeconomic problems that exist in our country were uncovered through the profiles of those who suffer the most. This article made me realize how lucky I am not to be living on the street.

Peter Smith,
Neyens, Ont.

'Ancestral sins'

In "History and healing," (The Road Ahead, March 23), I find an overblown story of some wrong done to long-dead Québécois and long-dead aboriginals by long-dead successors of English-Canadians. As an English-speaking, seventh-generation Canadian, I feel again the chronic frustration of being held responsible for alleged an-

Royal modifications

With respect to your story in the March 23 issue about the Royal Family and the changes it will have to undergo to survive ("Downsizing royalty," World, March 23), I have a suggestion: mandatory retirement of the monarch at age 75. If her mother is any indication of how long the Queen will live, then it will be about 30 more years before Prince Charles comes to the throne, at which time he will be almost 80 years old. However, if the Queen retires at age 75, then Prince Charles will ascend the throne in his prime and will undoubtedly make a splendid monarch. Then, when it comes time for Charles to retire, his son William will also be in his prime and will thus continue the monarchy in a successful manner.

William Cowan,
Sault Ste. Marie, Ont.

cent sins and obliged to recompense us and compensate fellow Canadians who do in no way merit disadvantage than I do. Perhaps I would make efforts towards reconciliation and recompense if I knew just what that means. If I had a precise list, claims from those historically or currently wronged peoples, we might be able to negotiate it. So far, all we have are vague ideological demands for the secession of big chunks of Canadian territory. Since the Quebec chunk would cut Canada into two, a linkable parts we see looking at national suicide. Don't it taste me moved beyond the rhetoric and got down to realistic details?

Cajiper / William
Tosco

Engineering ideas

Surely a lady with a good Scots name in Scotland has our country more sympathy for me seems than to say that "engineers will launch new ventures are partly to blame they are often more interested in developing ideas than in management." ("Architectural regulation," The Bottom Line, March 23). We should be thankful that there are so many people developing ideas and launching new ventures. We have too many people interested in managing, not creating, and many bank managers who won't finance a startup based on a good idea. Anyone can get any new venture started as a lie and if Macrae's begs them out, you have seen that as a free-market valuation of the quality of the idea.

Glen C. Bell,
Trent

FELIX

Some arguments stand the test of time.



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'Ineffectual laws'

In the face of consistently critical, Philip-Owen's *Curry* seems to escape its responsibilities through weak and ineffectual laws ("Dark days at Philip," Special Report, March 29). With last July's execution of 600 people because of a fire at the Plantain Inc. plastics recycling plant still in the minds of Hamilton residents, it's no wonder people are cynical about governments' willingness to impose consequences on their friends.

Mal Jones,
Burlington, Ont.

Home care now

Federal Health Minister Allan Rock's comments in support of a national home care program are welcome and should be supported ("Pushing home care," Health, March 30). My own concern is with his time line of between 12 and 18 months for development of a standard approach to home and community care through building a consensus with the provinces. We have all seen reports of overcrowding in hospital emergency rooms and people being forced to endure unsupportably long waiting periods trying to ac-

cess care and a bed. The prospect of waiting possibly until 2000 for new investments in home care is alarming.

Sharon Sheehy-Grey,
President, Canadian Healthcare Association,
Ottawa

As a 25-year-old mother of a three-month-old, I was devastated to discover that I was not eligible for home care after an abnormal appendectomy. I was not able to lift or carry my 15-lb son for 37 days. I needed help to care for him while my husband was at work. All the home care I was eligible for was one hour per week to help me bathe. I hope that when Allan Rock makes improvements to the health-care/home-care system, he will allow room for these "exceptional circumstances."

Summer Evert,
Port Colborne, Ont.

'Real political muscle'

In her column "A player named flooze," I am pleased John O'Brien writes about the accomplishments of a student politician, backed by a shoestring budget and only 14 student members (Education, Feb. 28). She fails to mention that the much larger and

more established Canadian Federation of Students has a more comprehensive lobbying strategy backed by sound research. The year's information, representing 60 student unions, backed up the lobbying effort with the National Day of Action just weeks before the federal budget—which saw thousands of students from coast-to-coast call on the federal government to implement debt relief for students. That's real political muscle.

Mark Poon,
Toronto

Student loans

Like student Kenna Perkins ("Dealing with Loans," Education, March 30), I intend to complete my degree this year, and I live off the meagre shadow of a student loan. I don't think that in an excess of \$40,000. Despite this massive debt, I do not expect a large part of my loan to be forgiven. I believe many students would be satisfied if only the payment schedule were revised. We are required to pay back our loans on more the 30 years, regardless of our income or size of our debt. If I had the option to pay \$1,000 a month over 30 years, rather than \$700 a month for nine, I would gladly pay back every penny of my loan (\$3,000 interest).

Tough Student,
Saskatoon

THE MAIL
Hapdoodle over flags

You write, "Belarus party collapses. I whined away too time by expiring the four federal parties in a demagogic spectacle over the presence of flags in the House of Commons—an example of how states politics can often reach base levels" ("The Charest effect," Canada, March 29). I agree, as do many others, that the Belarus party is far below "base level." Instead, they have sent an issue rather sensitive to many Canadians. They have also distracted what the "flagdog" just how devils and treasoning the Black Quebecers can be from it comes to dealing with Canada. The location of this issue by the Belarus party helps to demonstrate the need for a separate foundation for federalism within Quebec and as an end to the separatist threat. It helps up so much of the federal government's time and resources, an issue that could easily be resolved by the election of an elected Charest as premier of Quebec.

Steve Smith,
Thunder Bay, Ont.

Pharmacist Bruce Wallace's high-handed reaction of the flag dog left me in a daze ("Visions in black," March 30). He attacks the demonstrators as flagdogs and villains of a whole instead of, when even the most casual observer of the parliamentary scene sees that the flags were brought into the House by members of the Liberal party. The presence between the Liberals and Reform was that the Liberals turned back the Black Quebecers whom Wallace mistakenly calls "the flag dog." This debate was held on the country news of today. A good question: The Speaker could and could have closed the issue when the new members broke the rules by flagdogging O Canada. The most punishing act of this sorry situation is that Canadians do not waste our money by lighting so red to agree with the Black Quebecers in Canada, Italy.

Dan Pennington,
St. Catharines, Ont.

THE ROAD AHEAD

Responding to global pressures

As trends in today's society increasingly resemble those in the early days of Britain's Industrial Revolution, it is intriguing to look at the writings of the early 19th-century industrialist and commentator, Robert Owen. Concerned about growing industrialism, he lamented the greater ease being given to machines than the people who maintained them. He decried crime, the addition to gin shops and the growing popularity of state-run taverns among the poor. Owen also expressed frustration that the horrendous conditions in factories were worsening, and that the age of children working in mines and factories had declined to 7 and 8 years old, not 30 years earlier.

Historical parallels are never exact, but there are some striking similarities. Few would argue against the view that we live in a society in which materialism is rampant. And while working conditions in our factories don't approach the horror of those in the Industrial Revolution, the subordination of the well-being of workers to globalization and the perceived need for downsizing bear a resemblance to Owen's Britain. As for crime, gin shops and taverns, the parallels are quite clear. And although we don't tolerate child labor in Canada, the problems are far from solved on the world scene.

Owen knew that the industrialists, bound up in their thirst for wealth, could not be counted on to improve conditions on their own. Since he fervently believed that "man's character was made for and not by him," he advocated a strong education system, government intervention to improve working conditions, child labor laws and

the organization of workers to counter the power of the employers. We are the beneficiaries not only of the efforts of the industrialists, but also of the sacrifices of the early workers and individuals like Owen.

Today, the leaders of the modern economy advocate a return to the unfettered marketplace. They argue that, given a free hand, they can create wealth for all. Some politicians have begun to implement their agenda. Notice the assaults on our social safety net. Observe the attacks on unions as employers, often while establishing record profits, demand concessions in the name of competing on a global scale.

It is clear that we are moving in the wrong direction. There are those who argue that it is too late to change course, or that developments on the world stage are beyond the control of individual national governments. But some recent events support the notion that all is not lost. For example, the proposed Multilateral Agreement on Investment, which until recently appeared to be unassailable, has been, if not stopped, at least slowed perceptibly by the efforts of its critics. It appears, too, that people are ready to support politicians who act for "the little guy" and punish those who do not—a trend that can be seen in governments up and down the world. It is vital financial aid to the surviving Dakota groups and Alberta's ill-treated towns to limit its responsibilities towards people who had been forcibly sterilized.

As we prepare to greet a new century, we would be ill-advised to ignore the lessons of the early decades of the Industrial Revolution.

Dennis Makowsky,
Shelburne, Ont.

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by Harold Stearns

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The great thing about Quebec's Eastern Townships—and last time I wrote—was that it contained one secret: its members of the media and politicians of all stripes rarely did seem to congregate to keep from the Capeli as people. Never mind the notion that Montreal is the home of the country's political decision-makers. There is a superficial case for that: Pierre Trudeau, Brian Mulroney, and Finance Minister Paul Martin live there, as do some of Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's most trusted advisers. But the cognate acknowledgment that their preferred gathering spot is, in fact, the Townships. And now, with attention focusing on Jean

**Where I
Quebec's
Township
Jacques**

be found with Mo Richler?

place and a real picture of people's various but often conflicting interests. The book is a collection of essays written by the small village of Astoria, people's town, which together with local seafarers' Watch for John Cichewski, CEO of the Royal Bank, and his two beloved golden retrievers. Not a bad setting for a book about the town's colorful beach town history.

Slips past the designer discount shops that dominate Keyhole and the three towers of the Grand Canyon, the book is a collection of essays written by the small village of Astoria, people's town, which together with local seafarers' Watch for John Cichewski, CEO of the Royal Bank, and his two beloved golden retrievers. Not a bad setting for a book about the town's colorful beach town history.

Some among our friends joined local. Other restaurants have included actor Christopher Plummer, a childhood friend of Lynch himself, and songwriter Neil Diamond. Bigger often comes by, as does Bruce's coach Pat Burns, who sits at his cottage on his motorboat.

Continue farther southeast, with a big and big, and you reach Canjion, the birthplace of the late Louis Armstrong—the last 18th president, mayor before Chertoff to use his back-to-back mayoral election victories. Canjion is ascending away from Montreal, and you eventually find North Village, which sits with Georgetown for the best takes of President Village and Home of the Most Notables per capita. It can be hard to decide which is more awe-inspiring: the cuisine at the local-est restaurant at Honey Manor and the A. J. Adelman

out in
—

Charest, after his election in 1994 to the House of Commons, received a cottage in North Hadybur from Sam Pollock, chairman of the Toronto Blue Jays, and takes it to his Twickenham base. A nearby hotel is named after the arranged marriage between the poet and journalist Graham Fraser (now in place, as is political writer Ben Grahby). Fraser's cottage previously belonged to his father, Blair, who was a much-respected journalist with *Maclean's*, and poet Francis Scott. Norman Webster, the longtime editor of *The Globe and Mail* and the *Canadian*, divides his time between city and town. Lyndee Caputo, the stylish *La Presse* columnist, is another visitor.

Then, there is the *Review of Shrobsbriek*, Quebec's other remaining English-language daily. It survives on a circulation of less than 7,000 with a quality that appresses its readers. More established names in Canadian journalism have worked constant hours for minimum wages there before moving on. Most recently, *Review* editor John McEwen, who had worked there 20 years, the editor was Charlie Blyth, a bearded bear of a man who is something of a legend for his blunt prose and opinions, high-octane rhetoric, and fierce commitment to journalistic excellence. He is now semi-retired, writing columns and occasional editorials. But his old shows up for big issues—such as Charest's announcement of his candidacy for the Quebec Liberal leadership. Charest was there to see the editor for the *Review*, where, shaking, apparently in awe, a question to Charest about his future in the stage. Charest replied what it was, "I'd like to see more," he said with a grin, "because it's Charlie shaking."

That's how things work in the Townships, a place where the business, media and political elite meet and greet—and forget that they are not supposed to like one another.

Backstage



Anthony Wilson-Smith

On safari in the Townships

Where but in Quebec's Eastern Townships would Jacques Parizeau be found lunching with Mordecai Richler?

Charest's other early dancing Balthazar inspired him. It was even on a creation of less than 7,000 with a quality that surpasses its size. Many established names in Canadian journalism have worked many hours for minimum wage there before moving on. Most would move back in as artists—it they could afford the pay cut. For years, the editor was Charles Hargy, a bearded leech of a man who is something of a legend for his blunt prose and opinions, high-spirited and with a great attachment to journalistic methods. He is now somewhat of a legend himself, but he is still a legend. He still shows up for big stories—such as Charest's announcement of his candidacy for the Quebec Liberal leadership. Charles was there with the assembled staffed late week, sleeping, apparently in vain, a question on Charest started to leave the stage. Then, Charest realized who it was. It's like me and more," he said with a grin. Because it's Charles's riding it."

Opening Notes

Edited by TANYA DOWRIES

The politics of praising Celine

It was either a case of great roads flouting all or a case of *Anythings-can-do, I can do better*. Quebec Premier Lucien Bouchard let slip to reporters that international superstar Celine Dion, 30, will receive the National Order of Quebec, the province's highest honour. The ceremony will take place in Quebec City on April 30. The day after Bouchard's announcement, Gov. Roméo LeBlanc announced that Dion, a native of Charlevoix, Que., who currently resides on Jupiter Island, Fla., with her husband and manager, René Angélil, would be made an Officer of the Order of Canada on May 1, well ahead of the next batch of Canadians to be honoured. Usually, the names of new Order of Canada members are announced en masse, twice a year. What's more, LeBlanc's office actually claims to have been Bouchard to far—much—last the southeast, widely applauded when she sang at last week's Oscars in Los Angeles, had been notified privately of the honour on Jan. 6.

Still, questions linger: Was Bouchard simply co-opting the feds with the timing of his apparent slip of the tongue? Did LeBlanc hastily announce the impending special presentation for Dion to steal Quebec's thunder? The Governor General's office was straightforward: "We worked on the timing and it happened to coincide with Quebec's," says Patricia Miller, spokeswoman for the Governor General.

In a flap over flags

With the Chrétien government's popularity increasing, the Liberal Party's business acumen in Ottawa has recently been widely well-congratulatory. But not every Gov. was in a blissful mood—delegate Darren Braiseman has a big bone to pick with Heritage Minister Sheila Copps. The Vancouver businessman claims that Copps's \$15.5-million campaign in 1996 to raise national pride by giving away one million flags devastated her manufacturing and retail company, International Flag & Banner Inc.

Braiseman wanted the government to approve a resolution requiring that before introducing programs that could hurt them. But the time set aside for delegates' questions expired before she could get to a microphone, so he had to fend Braiseman himself. Copps a bill for \$3.9 million in lost sales—that caused her to lay off staff at her seven flagshops—but so far the minister has not responded. Department of Heritage spokesman says his department has received the bill and that Braiseman's claims "merit examination" and are being "considered."



Copps: sent a bill for \$3.9 million

Don't a federal-provincial contest

Praying for federal funds

The federal government is used to abuse from the Bloc Québécois, and even church funding isn't sacred. Bloc MP Yves Rochelleau recently took Ottawa to task for refusing to subsidize the restoration of a church in his Trois-Rivières riding while agreeing to pay \$650,000 toward the cost of replacing the roof at St. Patrick's 130-year-old St. Patrick's mission. The location has the largest multiphase Roman Catholic congregation in the province—1,700 people—while Église Saint-Léonard Grand, located 10 km from Trois-Rivières, has 100 members. In a recent press release, Rochelleau said that Ottawa turned down Saint-Léonard on the grounds that it doesn't have a recognized restoration—let alone a recognized St. Patrick's the end.

But Jean Sautet, a spokesman with Paroissiens, counters that there are no federal programs to restore churches, and that St. Patrick's received funding from his department because it is an additional historic site—designated it received last year because of its neo-Gothic architecture and history of helping Irish famine refugees. Still, Rochelleau wants Ottawa to help 170-year-old Saint-Léonard with its restoration. "It's not just an old church," he says, pointing to its wood carvings and sculptures. For his part, St. Patrick's Rev. Major Barry Eganowski is staying out of the fray. His concern is the church's 1803 copper roof. "If we don't do this we'll start to get leaks."



St. Patrick's is a sanctuary for famine-stricken Irish

Did coach Shannon get shafted?

When officials at the Canadian Hockey Association announced last week that they would not renew the contract of women's Olympic team coach Shannon Miller, national team players rallied to her defence. The severely competitive Miller, 4, a tough talking coach from Calgary, has taken much of the blame for her team's loss to the United States in the old medal game in Nagano. The players, however, say Miller deserves to stay with us team because she let them to a silver medal.

"All you'd hear was what Shannon said to me," says Miller. "But we were the ones led by Speaker Gilles Milner are all ladies. My team. But we were the ones led to medal because they didn't get the job done, not her." endorsement of Canada's bid for a seat on the UN Security Council. The scolders involved was the CHA's explanation for the first Canadian parliamentary deputy a did not need Miller's support. The team to win. Since the two national governments has suspended the full-time established over budget rights all the team's program that was initiated in east of Newfoundland.

Off to prepare for the Winter Games. During the 16-day mission, the delegation thought the newly autonomous nation will meet King Juan Carlos and his high is still receiving full support. "The making government of fields Spain needed more training and development, but an important ally in the United Nations," maintains Karin Lockwood, team, even if it is a relation one. Theorists' manager for the Ottawa-based the 'torbit' crisis was finally settled. Canadian Association of Women in Sport Canada and European Union officials and Physical Activity in magazine, CHA April, 1996, the workers are anxious over the president Bob Williams states smooth over any lingering bad feelings. Williams will likely be more Says Miller. "All signs are that we will stabilize when the organization drafts its cover a good welcome." Although many budget is May Says McMahon a school one, "Worries change."

Passages

REDISIGNED: Alan Engelson, 64, from the Hockey Hall of Fame, in Toronto's Engelson, currently serves as an 18-month sentence for hockey-related fraud, was elected to the Hall in 1989 in the

"Builder" category. His letter of resignation



arrived before the board of directors was to meet to discuss his forced resignation. A number of fellow inductees, including Bobby Orr, Gordie Howe and Brad Park, threatened to resign if Engelson was not removed.

DIED: Porsche car company founder Ferdinand Porsche Jr., 88, at his vacation home in Zell am See, Austria. Porsche was instrumental in developing the beetle for his father's company, Volkswagen, in the 1930s, before creating his own line of luxury automobiles in 1946.

DIED: Art columnist and critic Christine Schab, 56, from injuries sustained in a car accident, in Fredericton.

AWARDED: To Vancouver singer Sarah McLachlan, 32, four albums, including the Awards for Best album and female vocalist of the year, in Vancouver. Toronto's Our Lady Peace won for group of the year and best rock album, while Shania Twain, 32, received the prize for female country artist of the year. The nine-member family band from Lakefield, Ont., Locust, won best new group and best instrumental album.

AWARDED: To Richmond Hill, Ont., figure skater Elvis Stojko, 26, and Luc Boucquier, 26, and coach Caroline Ruess, 26, national athletes of the year, at the Canadian Sport Awards in Toronto. Both the men's and women's national hockey teams were named outstanding teams. The outstanding pair of the year award went to rowers Allan Kene, 27, from Nepean, Ont., and Emma Robinson, 26, from Winnipeg.

PROMOTED: Canadian broadcaster Fred Newman, 58, is co-host of ABC TV's Good Morning America in New York City. Newman, who worked at Global, CTV and CBC before, has been a news anchor for the broadcaster since 1974. After Andrew Canadian, executive producer Mark Lukashenko, has left the show.

BEST-SELLERS

- FLECTION**
1. *Parade*, The Atlantic (C)
 2. *The Secret Garden*, John Granger (C)
 3. *Parade*, The Atlantic (C)
 4. *Parade*, The Atlantic (C)
 5. *Parade*, The Atlantic (C)
 6. *Parade*, The Atlantic (C)
 7. *Parade*, The Atlantic (C)
 8. *Parade*, The Atlantic (C)
 9. *Parade*, The Atlantic (C)
 10. *Parade*, The Atlantic (C)

- NOVATION**
1. *Parade*, The Atlantic (C)
 2. *Parade*, The Atlantic (C)
 3. *Parade*, The Atlantic (C)
 4. *Parade*, The Atlantic (C)
 5. *Parade*, The Atlantic (C)
 6. *Parade*, The Atlantic (C)
 7. *Parade*, The Atlantic (C)
 8. *Parade*, The Atlantic (C)
 9. *Parade*, The Atlantic (C)
 10. *Parade*, The Atlantic (C)

Better read than dead

Raiders of the world's literature. To celebrate the 150th anniversary of the English printing of *The Communist Manifesto* by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, New York publisher Versa has released an updated and updated version of the communist bible, with an introduction by noted British historian Eric Hobsbawm.

BY ROBERT LEWIS

In the 15 years and five months that Pierre Elliott Trudeau served as prime minister, he captured up every emotion in the Canadian people except indifference. The retained images of his years in office are a highlight reel of the Canadian psyche. From the "Just Society" to "Just watch me," he left powerful and potent memories of joy and triumph, disappointment and defeat. From the moment of his election 30 years ago as Liberal leader on April 8, 1968, to the solitary walk in the February snow that preceded his resignation in 1984, Trudeau dominated the scene as no other prime minister. Only Sir John A. Macdonald and Mackenzie King served longer. But Trudeau was the first prime minister of the electronic age. He had cool and charisma. His incoherent shrug was as powerful a weapon as his verbal wit. But his results were mixed. He advocated a strong and united Canada, even as decentralization became the rage. While he built his bedrock commitment to national unity on minority language rights and a place for francophones in the Canadian mainstream, his years in office enhanced the election of a separatist government in Quebec and a backlash against official bilingualism. Since his retirement into relative seclusion in Montreal, many of his other policies—from deficit spending to disengagement from the United States—have been dismantled. He will be remembered for changing the course of Canadian history—and, above all, for extending a Charter of Rights and Freedoms in a new Constitution.

Two images, two sides of Trudeau:

It is the fall of 1978 and Trudeau's Liberals are desperate. He is trailing Joe Clark's Tories in the polls, and must call an election within months. One last Trudeau's justice minister, Boies the notion of restoring the death penalty as a way to placate voters concerned about crime. Now, at an Ottawa news conference, Trudeau announces that, yes, perhaps the Liberals would allow for a national referendum on capital punishment. "In the present climate," he added, "maybe we should throw a lot of hot potatoes back to the people." There is a shock and barrier in the halls. It is there is over that Liberals still stand firm, it is abolition. Now here was their leader prepared to pursue re-election over principle. Ultimately, abolition remained, but it was a measure of how far Trudeau had given himself over to the pollsters and backstabbers of the Liberal party.

It is the spring of 1979, and now Trudeau knows that he is going down to defeat with 34 days to go in the election campaign. His reaction is a simple refusal to write the first of two speeches he will deliver on successive days in Montreal and Toronto. After rushing the handwritten drafts out for typing, their hearts making as

WHEN WE WERE YOUNG

Looking at the Trudeau phenomenon 30 years later

they pressed the subject. Against all advice, he actually has decided to go down swinging on the one subject that outsiders most to him in political life—the Constitution. In both cities, he delivers long, intense but fascinating lectures on the need for Canada to bring the Constitution home from Great Britain and to have a Canadian-made method for its amendment. Trudeau loses the election and steps down as Liberal leader.

What happens next is the first paragraph in the "Canada-is-not boring-because..." essay contest. Joe Clark's Tories, the guy that couldn't count straight, lose a vote as John Crosbie's budget—an opinion proposed by then NDP MP Bob Rae—and Trudeau, unopposed, is persuaded to undergo a month after his resignation the win the election and he proceeds to implement what will be come his lasting legacy—as he put it in the Toronto speech, "a Constitution made in Canada, by Canadians, for Canadians." He goes on to fight the 1985 referendum in Quebec, a victory he savors.

It is the winter of 1986 and Peter Langford, one of Trudeau's most ardent foes at the federal provincial bargaining table, has not returned during a vacation in the Atlantic provinces. The former Alberta premier calls Trudeau's decision to move ahead with patriation, when there was a separatist government in Quebec, "an insane mistake. He should not have brought it forward then. It was a blunder for us," declared McGill University professor of philosophy Charles Taylor, who ran against Trudeau in 1985 as an NDP candidate, is only slightly more forgiving. Trudeau's hand has on special

status for Quebec, he notes, has proved wide acceptance. "The Trudeau solution," says Taylor, "is common property. It turns out that it is not the right solution. If we come through this, it will only be by rejecting that policy."

Trudeau declined requests to be interviewed for a 30th anniversary retrospective. But in a *Maclean's* interview on his 100th anniversary in 1976, he told me: "Ask yourself if that [separatist] movement would be stronger if we hadn't in the past 10 years done all we did in Ottawa to make French an official language and to show that French-Canadians in Quebec and Ottawa could put their weight and exercise substantial power." One of his most loyal supporters admits reluctantly that Trudeau "came into politics to strengthen minority rights—and he did. He did not come into politics for the Foreign Investment Review Act or the National Energy Program."

The NEP came in later years, but FIRA had more to do with staying afloat—winning the votes of New Democrats during the minority government period from 1979 to 1980. There has been only one other minority since—the interminable Clark era—again in 1979. It was as if Canadians had a romantic bond with Trudeau. They wanted to test him as a lesson in humility in 1972 and they did. The Liberal candidate in an Ontario riding won a recount by four votes, enough to keep Trudeau in power. And eight years later, they returned Trudeau to power with a majority, seemingly just in time to engage René Lévesque in the 1980 Quebec referendum

During the Trudeau years in power—April 8, 1968, to June 3, 1979, and March 3, 1980, to June 30, 1984—the United States had five presidents: Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan. Duke University historian John Heil Thompson, a fierce critic of Trudeau, acknowledges: "Could there have been a single Canadian who did not reflect with pride at some time during these years that Canada had chosen a better man?" There was no doubt about his style. He did down himself, did himself off during boards and sat on a rock absorbing rainwater next in Lapham. He dated Barbara Streisand, Margaret Thatcher and Liana Keady. In the House of Commons, he told an opposition MP to "f— off" in Ottawa he advised protesting strikers "Manges in merde," and he boasted a middle finger at German students in Saigon Arms, B.C. He was laid.

In foreign affairs, he gave Canada a place in the world beyond our previous modest expectations. He extended diplomatic recognition to the Vatican and mainland China and he steadfastly opposed arms sales to South Africa, which angered the British. He asserted Canadian sovereignty when the American oil tanker *Arctic Venture* sailed through Arctic waters in 1980—a stance that riled critics about who controlled our Arctic waters. But by the end of his term, he had abandoned the so-called Third Option of strengthening ties with Europe and his government accepted the first tests of the U.S. cruise missile in Canada.

Domestically, Trudeau lowered the voting age from 21 to 18, introduced television to the House of Commons and led the move to legalize abortion and heterosexual acts between consenting adults in a major Criminal Code overhaul. But for the most part, he had abandoned the economy, his performance was uneven. He brought in wage and price controls after denouncing them. Inflation and deficits soared.

Typically, it was Trudeau's performance in several crises in Quebec that most endeared him to his adherents—and provoked his adversaries. Just before the 1980 election, during the St-John-Baptiste parade in Montreal, in a traditional time of nationalistic expression—Trudeau threw down battle-drawing separatists in a symbolic gesture of his determination to oppose people who would break up the country. "I am trying to put Quebec in its place," he said to cheers during that campaign, "and the place of Quebec is in all of Canada." The week later, still out of the election but in Quebec, he visited in Montreal following the 1980 referendum. Jones Gross and murdered Quebec cabinet minister Pierre Laporte.

Canada, truly, had come of age. Trudeau was defiant when asked how far he would go to fight the FLQ. "Just watch me." What Canadians now was his own imposition of the draconian War Measures Act. The Canadian army took over the streets and authorities had unlimited powers of search and arrest. Trudeau's response reflected his separatist and civil liberties, but proved to be one of his most admired acts in public opinion. And, in the first Quebec referendum in 1980, Trudeau delivered the coup de grace to the separatist campaign in three magnificent speeches.

The subsequent failures to find an accommodation between Quebec and English Canada is an enduring frustration that has persisted for the 14 years since Trudeau retired. He pointed the Constitution, but without the agreement of the government of Quebec. Trudeau's critics blame him for that, and for leading the fight against the Meech Lake and Charlottetown constitutional agreements, which might finally have resolved the issue. Now, another showdown looms in Quebec. How that is resolved will determine Quebec's role in Canada—and Pierre Trudeau's true place in history. □

Saying goodbye at the 1984 Liberal leadership convention dominating the country's political scene



With former minister Allan Rock and Quebec premier Robert Bourassa in 1989, acquaintances say age is taking its toll

COVER

THE LION IN WINTER

"Trudeau, too, must be allowed to grow old"

BY ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH

The reason is almost certainly not the 50th anniversary on April 6 of his rise to power as leader of the Liberal party. Pierre Elliott Trudeau, 69, has always been far more interested in looking ahead than behind. But this week, Trudeau is doing something different from the regimen he has followed in winter and spring since in recent years. Usually, he spends part of each week-end skiing at Mont Tremblant, about 140 km north of his Montreal home; and often—spending "about 10-15 hours on the slopes without break, no rest, no coffee, no nothing," says his friend, Montreal businessman and social savant Stratton Stevens, who usually accompanies him. On the anniversary day, he is expected to be in British Columbia where he is spending most of about a week and a half skiing at Whistler and visiting two of his three sons, Justin, 26, and Michael, 22. (The third son, Sacha, 24, lives with him in Montreal.) He departed Montreal in great spirits, Trudeau, says Stevens, who laughed with him just before he left, "his happiest and most content when he is seeing his boys."

That is the good news for admirers of Trudeau: even at 73 years of age, some stories about him from friends suggest that he maintains a pace and lifestyle that would exhaust many people 20 years younger. But as with almost everything else Trudeau has done in life, there are sharply different opinions of how he is faring these days. Stevens, who sees him regularly, is the most upbeat. "He has extraordinary

energy," says Stevens, who has also frequently travelled abroad with the former prime minister. But many people who have seen Trudeau recently acknowledge that age is taking its toll. "He still skis, but less aggressively," says Miss Németh, publisher of the revised professional magazine *Civil Avoir*, which Trudeau helped found. "He still recites poetry, but not as many stanzas. He, too, must be allowed to grow old."

Everyone agrees that Trudeau (who did not respond to a request from *Macleans*) for an interview remains a formidable force intellectually. But as with many people of a certain age, some days are better than others. Former colleagues who still see him monitor his health closely, as they come away from lunches or meetings, delightfully report that his powers of reason remain sharp. But in the last two years, he has suffered from occasional memory lapses—something that once seemed unthinkable in a man renowned for his strength of mind. At a luncheon of the English-language edition of *Cité 400* in Toronto in January, Trudeau was asked if the occasion brought back memories. "Memory? Too losing my memory," he responded.

Acquaintances who have not seen him in several years are sometimes shocked by how easily he has aged. He almost never has visitors at the Art Deco mansion that he bought in 1959 on Pine Avenue, adjacent to the southern slope of Mount Royal. He no longer likes to drive, preferring to walk or be driven. He corrects deliberately and speaks almost purely slowly, and some of his wardrobe seems as



lured and therefore. Occasionally, he now reflects on his time in politics and, says someone who saw him recently, "he seems, probably, to be mellowing."

In particular, friends say, Trudeau was devastated by the death last year of Gérard Pelletier, whom he had known since high school days. Pelletier, Trudeau and the late Jean Marchand were the three of the Three Wise Men who went to Ottawa together in 1965 with the aim of combating separatism and reforming federalism. "Pelletier was very moved about his ex-man, but it is clear that Canada has let him down," says Donald MacDonald, a former cabinet colleague of both men who laughed with Trudeau recently. "He



With Quebec premier Robert Bourassa at Pierre Laporte's funeral in 1976, at the 1989 Grey Cup game in Toronto (left) content to live far removed from the public eye

He had great respect for Diefenbaker. He would remember special occasions, like his birthday. At one point, the prime minister was looking on a tour of Europe and Diefenbaker was ill. The PM and I devised a code—the code name for Diefenbaker was Diefidid. And I would message what the weather was—and whether the Diefidid were blooming.

—Senator Joyce Fairbairn

spent a lot of time reminiscing about Corbett. This was really the last of a small circle of lifelong friends." And a longtime Liberal acquaintance who bumped into Trudeau on the street last month said "he looked like a little old man—and then I realized that is what he now is."

But the fascination with the man who served as prime minister for 15 years remains. In October, Toronto's York University will play host to a conference honoring academics and former politicians and colleagues of Trudeau's: delivery, his record. (Maclean's J. L. Grossman and author and journalist Andrew Cohen are editing a book of essays on Trudeau that will be published this fall by Random House. Contributors include MacDonald, former Trudeau senior adviser James Coady, former Ontario premier Bob Rae, internationally renowned author and philosopher Michael Ignatieff, along with Cohen and Grossman.)

Even among those who have followed Trudeau closely for years, says Grossman, "opinions are constantly in evolution." For example, Grossman says, "I never voted for the guy, doubled most of his policies, and was opposed to the War Measures Act." But in the 14 years since Trudeau left office, Grossman says he has "come around to realizing him and his accomplishments as a great deal"—and his change in the book reflects Trudeau's decision to make the act during the 1950 October Crisis.

On the issue that matters most to him—Quebec's place in Canada—Trudeau's firm views are unchanged, and still presented with characteristic rigour. That was evident in the vehement opposition Trudeau showed to any form of special status for Quebec in an interview he gave to *Cité 400* late last year. On that subject, Trudeau said "distinct society and special status are one and the same thing. We fought against them, and for a while no one heard about them. We explained to the people of Quebec that they didn't need creature to rule."

But, increasingly, such words fall on deaf ears. Michel C. Auger, political columnist with Quebec's largest newspaper, *Le Journal de Montréal*, says that "for both federalists and separatists, Trudeau has fallen off the radar screen in the present debate. His ideas are seen as outdated." Even among

those federalists who say they admire Trudeau personally, there is skepticism about his ideas. Gordon Gibson, for one, was Trudeau's first executive assistant in 1968 and a self-described "huge admirer of the man." But over the years, the native British Columbian now says, "I came to realize that he had a rational, fairly reserved vision of the direction Canada should move in—and it was a wrong one and a failure." Today, Gibson, an author and political analyst at the B.C.-based Fraser Institute, says, "There is no question the country is in worse shape for those ideas."

Perhaps the biggest source of frustration for Trudeau is that his views seem to carry little weight with the present Liberal government. In the wake of the 1985 referendum, Trudeau publicly fretted at a news conference that he had "lost out on my hands" during the campaign because the No committee made it clear they did not want him involved. Since then, he has occasionally expressed frustration to friends that he is not consulted more often. After Prime Minister Jean Chretien led the Liberals to power in 1993, he actively made a point of calling Trudeau almost once a month to sound out his views, but those calls have lessened—although, says Peter Doucet, Chretien's director of communications, "The Prime Minister places the greatest respect and importance on Mr. Trudeau's ideas."

Sometimes, in fact, it can seem as if Trudeau is admired more by his political opponents than his traditional allies. Bloc Quebecois MP Daniel Turp says that he has "never agreed with any of Trudeau's views towards Quebec." But on a personal level, Turp adds, "It is easy for me to understand why people admire him. He has the conviction and firmness of a statesman, not just a standard politician." And Reform MP Robin Boivin, whom Trudeau met in Alberta from Uppsala in 1971, encapsifies Trudeau's vision of a country of bilingual, multicultural citizens. Judging, he Reform's principal spokesman within Quebec: "It was Mr. Trudeau who fired my passion for politics," he says. "And if, today, his ideas are no longer alive, that takes away some of my admiration for his intelligence, dedication and charisma."

In fact, Trudeau occasionally, and carefully, confides to friends his own views on what the Liberals are—or should be—doing. He believes Chretien's relative lack of commitment to what he considers traditional Liberal values—although, says one Trudeau friend, he is aware that "this group has had to deal with some harsh economic realities that he didn't have to deal with, or, at least, didn't deal with." On Quebec, Trudeau has suggested that the Liberals—through some decentralizing policies and their recognition of Quebec as a "distinct society"—have dissipated some of what he would see had to build. The party, says Max Nemce blantly, has "failed to keep Mr. Trudeau's vision alive."

It is also likely that Trudeau is less than happy about the



■ With his wife in 1969, Trudeau's frustration with current government policies

Liberals' commitment to reduce international trade barriers. During his recent lunch with Macdonald, Trudeau for the first time discussed the key role that Macdonald played in heading a royal commission that recommended a free trade treaty with the United States in the mid-1980s. That position enraged many, including Trudeau at the time. Trudeau, says Macdonald, "allowed my presence, he alternates between Italian or Greek restaurants in the city to me that it was not at all the sort of position he would choose—frequenting Italian—and often settles for something from the takes at the fire." On the other hand, Trudeau has been enthusiastic about the building "I have never seen Pierre either waste about the efforts of Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy any kind of food or fail to clean his plate," says Stevens. Axworthy—particularly in helping to organize an international conference estimates he has known Trudeau for close to 20 years. And Trudeau's famed kindness for party-purchasing permits. Trudeau is a millennial, the result of a famine made by his father, Charles-Stanislas, who owned a chain of service stations. But he moved from the public eye as possible. He still appears regularly.



■ With the Queen in 1982, at a 1997 dinner in Montreal (right) sometimes it can seem as if Trudeau is admired more by his opponents than by his traditional allies

"He liked being from Montreal—but he really did not like being leader of the Liberal party. He resented having to participate in any party events. During a campaign, you could never get him to visit a senior citizens' home. He felt that he was using helpless old people. He would say, 'They're sitting there, they don't really know what's going on.' And he just would not do it. His best audience was university students."

—Former Liberal party president Norman MacLeod



a cheaper senior citizens' ticket whenever he goes to the movies. He pays for purchases with a Visa card, shunning the more expensive gold category. Trudeau visits Toronto about once a month to visit his daughter, Sarah, age 4, and her mother, constitutional lawyer Deborah Copps, whom he dated briefly. While there, Trudeau saves money by staying in a residence building at the University of Toronto.

Occasionally, Trudeau travels to Asia—when Hong Kong—to represent his law firm with key corporate clients. In the past decade, he has travelled with Stevens in, among other places, Greece, Turkey and France. In Paris, Stevens says, they occasionally share some wildly contrasting experiences. On one visit several years ago, the two men—both wearing cut-off jeans and T-shirts—checked into an inexpensive hotel favored by independent students. "One student," Stevens recalls with a laugh, "whispered to his friend, 'There's Pierre Trudeau,' but the other guy said, 'Naw—he wouldn't stay in a dump like this.'" That night, Stevens adds, the two "went out for dinner and blew about \$800 at Le Tour d'Argent—a famed Paris restaurant."

Such extravagance is something Trudeau rarely indulges in at home. Friends who know him best agree that the reserved figure of recent years is much more the real Pierre Trudeau than the outgoing, outspoken character who alternately amazed, amazed and infuriated Canadians while in public office. Gordon Robertson has known Trudeau for almost half a century—since he was Trudeau's superior when the future prime minister worked in the Privy Council Office in 1948. Later, Robertson served as secretary to the cabinet when Trudeau headed the government. Says Robertson, "The man I first met was brilliant and quite friendly, but extremely shy and diffident. I always felt that as prime minister, he was behaving in a way that people seemed to want—but that the real Trudeau is the man I first met."

Like it or not, Trudeau cannot escape recognition. Even in Greece, says Stevens, when they were going through customs in the early 1980s, "one agent immediately knew who he was." And former senior Liberal party official Norm MacLeod, whose daughter and son-in-law live near Deborah and Sarah Copps in Toronto, says that they often see Trudeau walking with his daughter when he visits. "Whenever people walk by," says MacLeod, "They do a double take." Once, MacLeod recalls, "A woman came up and said, 'Has anyone ever told you that you look like Pierre Trudeau?' All he said, with a smile, was, 'As a matter of fact, they have.'" Born in the autumn of his years, everyone knows who Trudeau is—but few, if any, can say they ever really knew him.

WIN AARON/JANISSEN in Toronto



■ With U.S. president Richard Mulcair in New Delhi with Indian Gandhi in 1971 (right) "spends are currently in evidence"

"The most distressing that I ever saw him was when he resigned in 1984. Before he resigned, he wanted to know what the situation was across the country. I was the messenger. My assignment was that we would lose the next election. He wanted him to leave as a champion, but it was very difficult for him."

—Former cabinet minister and Liberal party president Jean Chretien



■ Escorting Barbara Stevenson in 1966 with "Target Riddle" in 1968 (far right) his first visit since Quebec's place in Canada remains unchanged

was his special occasion from 1970 to 1972, saw a man who was extremely open to ideas, only proposed that anyone wanted to put on the table. One of the most extraordinary rhetorical qualities was his ability to use the remote consequences of a given position. "You argued A, he, in lightning speed, would say that A led to B—and eventually to Z."

—Former cabinet minister Francis Fox



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■ Shugging off questions in 1981: what the people expected was a smiling bachelor pretending to be a statesman—what they got was a cool cat possessed by that rarest of political qualities: rage

In the 1972 election, the polls were pretty bad. So we had a huge rally at Maple Leaf Gardens to show that he still had the charisma of 1968. I was right behind him. He still used a podium then—he hadn't moved at the previous stage. And, behind the podium, his past eyes were quivering like crazy. He was nervous!

—Former cabinet minister
James Fleming

Counted oaths that hands cabinet members in secrecy that his reaction to what was obviously a woman-revealing day was so extreme that our exchange has always stayed with me. It was an early morning signal of how power would change the man who, literally hours before, had been on the Ottawa Civic Centre convention floor, doing the boogie-woogie, shugging and winking, and leaving screaming women under the shimmering lights.

Trudeau's performance in the 1968 election, which followed our interview, was his greatest moment. Terry Rogers, their long runner of hair straining like bunnies in the wind, clutching their machine-scraped faces, followed him everywhere, sweating whenever he dignified to kiss one of them. Besotted, toddlers were held up to the shoulders of their parents and admonished to "mousetail him," as the excitement surged across the country. The press cameras clicked like a hundred crickets every time Trudeau would alight from his prime ministerial jet, comparing up images of Caesar leaving the Roman Empire, as he made his triumphant way from one shugging place to the next.

I recall in particular flying into Dartmouth, N.S. We in his media entourage trudged down the plane's steps into a cold, drizzly night. That was well-timed. Terry's car at the time. But along the route from the airport, as if on a prearranged signal, people came out on their porches to wave at the procession of darkened limousines. Many had backed their cars into their driveways, so that they could dash their headlights in silent tribute to the inevitable man in the leather coat.

In Victoria, where the monarchy was still an important issue, Trudeau was garlanded on the tarmac he had previously dismissed as irrelevant. He was the crowd over with a shrug: "I was in Saskatoon last night and crowded a lovely evening, so I feel warm to the monarchy." Admired about the future of federalism, he replied "An existing political party should have both wounds and brains." Prime ministers don't talk like that.

What the people expected was a smiling bachelor, pretending to be a statesman. What they got was a cool cat possessed by that rarest of political qualities: rage. The press seemed to attract less his listeners' minds or hearts as their nervous squeals. I remember standing beside a manly woman at a reception in Ottawa's Chateau Laurier Hotel. Just before Trudeau was due to

be ushered through the door, she stiffened and turned to her huge block of a self-chained husband with the whisper: "What if I faint when he comes on?" The husband cut her in two with a look of disgust, his eyes rolling to heaven. But when Trudeau finally jogged by and happened to shake the man's hand, he quietly started to cry.

The election campaign hardly qualified as a discourse out of Aristotle. Trudeau, in yet another screaming hand of supporters: "I do not feel myself bound by any doctrine or rigid principles. I am a pragmatist." That's a pragmatist. "What's your vote?" "Um, Pierre baby!" All through that incredible circus, Trudeau maintained his inner repose, refusing to compromise his essence, or bend to the gravitational pull of the crowds. And the more he held back, the more the people wanted a piece of him.

He had appeared out of nowhere like a desert prince who knows the mystery of the shifting sands. And never would there be a prime minister like that again. He matched us. He was the dancing man, sliding down banisters, doing the boogie, and standing behind the Queen's back, winking and winking, or standing behind the Queen's back, winking and winking, or standing behind the Queen's back, winking and winking. No other country could boast of a hand of government who could dance the Ashik moomoom in Sheikh Yassini's desert town, be named "the world's seventh-mostest man" by the London Daily Sketch, yell "Manger la merde!" at striking mail-truck drivers, kiss-dive, high-five, and smoochie deal, turn a brown belt in judo, date some of the world's most desirable women, marry a soap 22-year-old, and have two of his three sons born on the subway in New York City.

He was the product of Harvard, Ecole des sciences politiques in Paris and the London School of Economics, but it was at Montreal's College Jean-de-Brebeuf that he was struck with the least germ of smiling sweetly as he speared his antagonists (Trudeau and the provincial premiers would later develop a unique relationship on good days; they would agree to disagree).

Pierre Elliott Trudeau's cousin, his intellectual curiosity, and his nose-dipping at the head traditions of the country's highest political officer tested us more than it tested him. He was the man with the red nose in his battle-helm who rescued us—finally—from the dead hand of Maclean's Ring.

But there was always a shadow in his makeup, as in my brief encounter with a politician I had considered a friend, and it would be years before I realized what that shadow was. He had an ache for a heart. That was what made him incomplete, that was what he hid, that was what made him crumble incapable of genuine response, and that was why the people stayed so close to him. We recognized him as the man in the iron mask. He never changed. But we did. Trudeau realized early on that his reason would always triumph over his feelings. When the opportunity came, he decided to reinvent himself: he would surrender his treasured academic privacy and become a politician.

Trudeau saw his brow, grafted as a gable on the maturity of Canadians. He staked his future on an intimate conviction that after a lifetime of 19th-century Victorian Canada, we were no longer searching for a father, but were ready for a leading man, a postmodern caustic hero.

Trudeau knew nothing about ordinary voters but he could read the national mood. The contradictions in the country's character had grown so acute, he reasoned, that no symbol of authority could reconcile them. This process required a master of ambiguity, a leader whose thoughts and arguments remained as unshakable and as unpredictable as those of his subjects. That ambiguity helped create his personal magnetism; people could admire him with their own aspirations and fantasies. Trudeau thus became a mirror for Canadians' dreams, performing the indispensable psychic act of retaining our anxieties to the surface, where they belong.

Once that happened, Pierre Elliott Trudeau inevitably became the national target of our individual anger and reciprocal rage. So much so that he was as glad to be hit when asked that chilly winter of 1984 as he was to be welcome him, back in the hospital spring of 1968. □

THE IRON MASK

Canada's 15th prime minister had an icicle for a heart.

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

I was a glorious April morning in that once-again-a-time spring of 1968, and the Pierre Elliott Trudeau who greeted me as I slipped into his pet-to-be furnished office had just won the Liberal party leadership and would soon be Canada's 15th prime minister. We were friends. In the early 1960s, I had spent away a glorious hour visiting his bar-cubicle at the University of Montreal's Institute for Public Law, where he taught, wore outrageously mismatched clothes, and made trouble for Maurice Duplessis, a fellow bachelorette, then premier of Quebec. When he arrived in Ottawa, after the 1965 election, we met for monthly lunches at the parliamentary restaurant. He to probe my knowledge of the national press corps—who not to trust and who not to trust absolutely; me to puff up news leaks about the justice department he had recently taken over. This was his "the state has no business in the bedrooms of the culture" period, so there was lots to write about.

At the time, I was Ottawa editor of the *Toronto Star*, and was the first to advocate his running for the Liberal leadership in one of my columns. I recognized in him a desperately needed an-

te to the Delembaker-Pearson lead, which had polluted our politics for most of a decade. The idea was widely dismissed as a bad joke. The doctors of Ottawa's Reform Club, which was then where the powerful met, poked one another in the ribs as they told and retold the story about how Trudeau had turned up on a Saturday morning at the Privy Council office dressed in desert boots and a boiler suit. He was minister of justice by then, but the commissioner on duty concluded he was a plumber with a jobbed workbench, had turned him away.

When he fooled the experts and gained the Liberal party's leadership, becoming prime minister in the process, Trudeau had pointed to give me his first interview at PM's, and here he was, ready to mine into my tape recorder. "Hey," I said, clearly meaning it as a joke. "I'm really glad you won. Now, I'll be able to get inside from all the ministers, not only Justice—"

"Listen," Trudeau shot back, his face suddenly an iron mask. "The first cabinet leak you get, I'll have the RCMP tap your telephone." The freshly minted prime minister was of course logically correct to squash my feeble attempt to poke him at the Privy

PIERRE WHO?

Gen Xers cannot comprehend Trudeaumania

BY JOE CHIDLEY

"Oh, yeah, Trudeau!" It is not exactly an overwhelmingly enthusiastic response, but at least it shows the first glint of recognition. And it is the moment that the question of Pierre Elliott Trudeau—Canada's third-longest-serving prime minister, Mr. Blue-in-the-Face, the cool Sixties dude who (allegedly, any way) made Twiggy warts-and-bees and Jane Fonda matrons alike swoon—is liberally in prompt in Canadians under 35 or so. People like David Post and Douglas Coupland have gone on and on about how 1980, demographically, was a watershed year: those of us born after it—late boomers, Gen Xers, baby boomers—have a different way of remembering the past, and interpreting the present, than those born before. Not that it comes up often, but on the topic of Trudeau, the schism seems especially stark. "I don't," says one 29-year-old woman. "He was in there so long. You just kind of thought that there was this guy who was Pierre Manette, and he'd have the job until he retired. He was kind of like a piece of furniture."

That is a description of the Great Man that will be hard to find in the avalanche of bit retrospectives, tributes and revisionist interpretations marking the 25th anniversary of Trudeau's Liberal party leadership victory. But considering that the woman who uttered it was, literally, still in the womb in the spring of 1968—well, a little aptly is hardly surprising. For generations of Canadians who were too young to vote for him, Trudeaumania is less than a memory. It survives only in news clips, film footage and CBC documentaries, and in a tiny sliver of music like this one, which attempts to recreate the spirit of Canada back then, at initiation.

Watching and reading and hearing all this stuff about Trudeau inspires much the same feeling as the hoopla over the 25th anniversary of Woodstock did in 1994. For all the media reflection at the time about hippies, drugs and Sixties culture, Woodstock seems like just a bunch of stupid teenagers having mad fights and dangerous sex while listening to badly produced tunes. Like of Pierre. Yeah, we are the rage, and there was something about fiddle-duckle and The Fingers, and Maggie was sort of a babe (didn't she date Mick, or was it—yeah—Ron Wood?). But hey, at her 30 years, what's the big deal?

There is a twinge of jealousy involved in all of this, of course. For those who weren't born or were too young to follow the news during the "magic moment" of 1968, when the Montreal Maniacs took the country by charismatic storm, accounts of Trudeaumania only point up the relative dullness of what followed. Can anyone imagine, say, Anne Chrétien hopping on the Concord and parading at Shado 54? Jon Clark giving reporters the finger through a dulcimer train window? Brian Mulroney prowling behind the Queen's? Even that current curly-headed darling, Jean Charest, were he to show up at parties with Barbra Streisand on Trudeau day, would it count as a loss? All Steven Seagal, Justin Bieber would have to do is take one look at Charest—he smile, self-spokenness,



■ Hailed during a 1971 Newfoundland visit, Gen Xers view with skepticism the Just Society gross out

boyish demeanor—and he would be able to tell that they were "just kids."

So Trudeau was a bigger celebrity than the 14 bowling-crop-of-Canadian-politicians-the-old-Marty-Pythian-late goes, "High praise, indeed!"

In these anniversary tales, it will no doubt be hinted around (again) that Trudeau was "Canada's JFK." The comparison is evident. Trudeau was, like Kennedy, the first leader of his country born in the 20th century—although not as late as the century (1918) as his oval-backed-quipped style would make people to believe. And both once were figure on votes than they often were on the nuts and bolts of governance. Kennedy had his Camelot, Trudeau his Just Society. But the salient difference between Kennedy and Trudeaumania is that JFK ended the political scene early (due to Lee Harvey Oswald). P.E.T., to the detriment of his star status, is still around. And while Camelot was shattered by a sniper's bullet, Canadians have watched the Just Society grow old become cantankerous and turn grey around the temples.

The lingering fascination with Trudeau—particularly among the media—seems by now a little keed. And through the eyes of someone who does not remember the mania but grew up during the rage, the gap between the image and the accomplishments (especially on Quebec) seems almost patchy. One suspects that what is really driving Trudeaumania today is nostalgia, pure and simple. Mostly for a time (which never was) when everyone got along and doors remained unlocked at night and kids could talk to strangers. It is a depressing form of rewriting history—typically undertaken by journalists and academics well over 40—which holds that all the exciting and important stuff happened back when they were young. Like most nostalgic exercises, it implies two mutually exclusive assumptions: things would be so much better if only we could re-enact those heady days, and nothing, in the end, ever changes.

Sorry, dudes. Time to get over it. □



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HEADY DAYS

BY JANE O'HARA

Margaret Trudeau Kemper roars down memory lane

When the movie *As Good as It Gets* opened in Ottawa over the Christmas holidays, Margaret Trudeau Kemper rushed to see it with her non-year-old daughter, Alicia. Although Margaret has always been a sucker for a romantic comedy, she had more than an average moviegoer's interest in the film. When it was over she turned to her daughter and, in a low, conspiratorial whisper, said: "Alicia, I have a secret. Mommy dated that man." The man she was referring to was Jack Nicholson—who last week won an Academy Award for his performance as a boozier writer with a freeter soul. She and Nicholson didn't exactly "date" so much as have a torrid fling in the late 1970s when her marriage to Pierre Trudeau was in tatters. At first, Alicia acted giddy after being entrusted with her mother's serious and sexy confidence. Then, after giving it some thought, she said: "But Mom, he's soooooo old."

Margaret laughs when she tells this story. It is mid-March and she is sitting in an Ottawa restaurant after a lunch of salmon and salad, smoking cigarettes, working on her second glass of red wine and musing down memory lane like a car without brakes. Clearly, she is enjoying the ride, reveling in her boytoy past exploits which made headlines all over the world. They began in 1977 when, as a breathtakingly beautiful 23-year-old former child from North Vancouver, she married Canada's most eligible bachelor, the 49-year-old Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau. From that fairytale wedding, Margaret launched herself into a celebrity or bit onlooker of a Canada.

She was known simply as Margaret, sometimes Maggie—a girl of flesh and fat that blew through the dusty archives of past prime ministerial wives. In the beginning, she was universally admired. She became the strictest mother of Trudeau's three sons—Justin, Sachs and Michael. She was considered down-to-earth, making her own dresses and retaining Trudeau's rich, slow manner, withering his unimpeachable elegance. But, in 1979, public opinion began to shift when she rejected the role of mother, complained about the prison of protocol and burst out of her suffocating marriage.

It wasn't her leaving that caused concern—after all, many women were re-evaluating their lives as a result of the feminist



At the Ottawa Spring Movie Show in April, 1997 (above), dancing at the Governor General's Ball after the 1972 election (left) a girl of flesh and fat in the dusty archives of past prime ministerial wives



movement. It was where she ended up that seemed to grab—the following with the comical-and-Cancon crowd, breaking up with an international roster of glib boys like Rolling Stone's guitarist Ron Wood, Hollywood leading man Ryan O'Neal and trash-TV talk-show host Gerianna Rivera. When she wasn't doing drugs or dancing at New York City's Studio 54, she was writing about it in her books, *Boysed Against* (1979) and *Conversations* (1982), which also talked about her intimate life with the prime minister. Here, the public drew the line: it was one thing for her to write honestly about her personal quest for freedom, but quite another to rob Trudeau of the most important thing in his life: his privacy.

Margaret still keeps in touch with some of the people from those heady days. In November, during a visit to London, a friend arranged a phone call to her old flame Nicholson in Los Angeles.

"Are you ever coming back on my road, Margaret?" he asked "No, Jack," she replied.

"Not even a little detour, Margaret?"

"No, Jack."

Then, after flirting with him for a ballgame, she convinced him that her days of taking detours, of making Ottawa and illegal kites were over. "I wished him well," says Margaret. "But he's a bad

boy. A totally, totally bad boy. I know that character so well. There was no doubt we are and was happy to be on, but they're not a part of my life now."

These days, her life is far more active than semiretired. In September, she will turn 50. It is hard to believe, and harder still to erase the old images of the young Margaret that seem burned into memory. Though her face no longer has the angular beauty that was captured so often by so many photographers, she still has a radiant smile and eyes as clear and blue as the sky. For the past 14 years, she has been married to Ottawa businessman Fred Kemper, a Conservative who, ironically, was once a member of Brian Mulroney's famous 500 Club of well-heeled supporters. Along with Allison, she and Kemper have a 13-year-old son, Kyle. After trying various careers—photographer, actress, talk-show host for an Ottawa TV station—she doesn't have a paying job. Still, she is devoted to her fundraising efforts for a nonprofit agency called Water-Cas, which delivers clean water to the Third World, and operates out of a basement office in an old red-brick building near the University of Ottawa.

Margaret admits it was hard to give up being Trudeau's wife. She still refers to him as "the love of my life" and says he still calls her "his wife." When she separated from him in May, 1977, they shared custody of the three boys, an arrangement that continued for seven years. She says Trudeau made her write a handwritten note at 2 a.m. one morning in 1977, giving up any right to the considerable personal wealth he inherited from his father—and to the children. He also took back the wedding and engagement rings he gave her. He still has them in a safe in Montreal, she says. Of the note, she adds "It wouldn't have stood up in court. But I think when you have old wounds as he has, you're very suspicious that people are in it to take you for your money."

In 1984, when Trudeau quit as Liberal leader and moved back to Montreal, the two divorced couple finally divorced. Trudeau demanded sole custody of the kids. In return, Margaret received a financial settlement. "Because of the strength of Pierre in every way, I had to give in and let him have it his way," said Margaret. But she has remained close to her three boys and kept a regular contact with Trudeau throughout the years. Two weeks ago, she visited her youngest, Michael, 22, who, after getting a degree in marine biology from Halifax's Dalhousie University, now lives as "a fish boy," as she describes it, at a resort in Rosneath, B.C. Her other kids, Sean and Heidi, also live out west. When not studying education at the University of British Columbia, he teaches ice-boarding at Whistler.

According to Margaret, Trudeau was "devastated" last September when the two boys moved to British Columbia, leaving him alone in his Montreal mansion for the first time since 1984 (Sacha, the 24-year-old middle son, was living in Toronto at the time). "It was the emptiest syndrome," says Margaret.

Lightening in China in 1975 she suffered recent bouts of depression, but says psychotherapy and Prozac have brought her around—and now she feels 'totally, totally liberated'

less walks together. Sacha never did like the competition who his brothers were around."

According to Margaret, all three boys share Trudeau's passion for skiing and his love for the rugged outdoors. None of them, though, have embraced Trudeau's devotion to Roman Catholicism, which Margaret says includes his practice of praying to Mary on his knees twice a day. But she notes that her boys are deeply spiritual, if not traditionally religious—men through Trudeau's eyes used to shun from the Bible. She recalls an incident when the boys, in their mid-teens, started physically fighting while on a camp trip with her. "When they got home and told their father about it," she says, "Pierre whipped out the Bible and read them the story of Cain and Abel. He told them if he ever heard again of his boys being brother against brother, he'd give away their legacy to the Catholic church up north. It was really painful for them."

Two years ago, Margaret had a religious "I thought my life was bleak," she says. "After all, I believed my job on camera was to promote and be a pleasant sexual diversion for my working men." She spiraled into a depression (a disease that struck her before) and tried leaving her marriage in the summer of 1996. Psychotherapy and Prozac brought her around and now she says, she feels "totally, totally liberated." In therapy, she discovered she hadn't come to grips with the losses in her life: the death of her father, former federal Liberal cabinet member Jean Seckler, in 1964—or the collapse of her marriage to Trudeau's wife, the Scarlet O'Hara," says Margaret. "I always said I'd do what I wanted."

After almost three hours, she signals it is time to end the interview. Her daughter is waiting to be picked up at school and she has to seek for a wedding band to sell. There is just one question: will she let a photographer come and take her picture as she dashes out with her coat hallway up, she says, "I can only see when I was 20."

"Pierre knew I was coming, but it was still very hard for him. I was hard for Justin too. It's a roller coaster. He's been the only one to be consistently there for Pierre." It was the second blow for Trudeau last year. In June, his oldest friend, Gerard Pelletier, died at age 79. According to Margaret, Trudeau, now 78, as well as usually doesn't attend funerals because "he's a cynic. He's very emotional." Still, with his boys' support, he went to Pelletier's funeral. "It was a tremendous experience," adds Margaret. "It's hard for him to lose his friends. I think this is the first year he's really in old—he'd put it off for so long."

Recently, however, Sacha moved back into Trudeau's home. After getting a philosophy degree from McGill University in Montreal and studying German in Berlin, he worked as a documentary filmmaker in Toronto. (To date, he only made one film, an examination of the Lutheran civil war in New Sweden.) Sacha has set up an editing suite in Trudeau's home and enjoys the time with his father.

"Sacha and Pierre put on their black ties and go off to the ball together," says Margaret. "On Sacha takes him to all the exciting new films and they do not



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Singing the Toryblues

BY BRUCE WALLACE

From the front porch of his home above the lakeside retreat of North Hatley, Que., Jean Charest could watch the spring breakup on Lake Beauport last week while considering the threat he, himself, had just ascribed to Canada's own second political landscape. Charest had returned to Quebec's Eastern Townships to declare he was swinging the leadership of the federal Progressive Conservatives for a ruckus head-to-head battle, as a provincial Liberal, with the separatist Parti Québécois government in its own fair. More than mere sentimentality convinced Charest to make his announcement in this rural southeast corner of the province. In villages and towns linked along the Townships' dipping back roads, English and French Quebecers have mixed easily for more than two centuries, sharing a suspicion of both Montreal's cosmopolitan, big-business interests and the bursaristic, provincial obsessions of Quebec City Townshippers are great, as Charest manifested a happy, grumpy crowd of 800 who turned out on a consecutive half in nearby Sherbrooke to watch him well, that Quebecers get along just fine when their politicians stop picking at the scab of independence.

The charismatic 39-year-old could not have hoped for a more euphoric, more stridently successful homecoming. Charest probed his well-worn message of reconciliation and hope, then dropped a bomb into the PQ's shorts by suggesting that Premier Lucien Bouchard was planning to drop his gludge to hold another referendum on sovereignty if he wins the next Quebec election. The prospect of that referendum is as unpopular with a majority of Quebecers as it is an article of faith with PQ hard-core. And Charest was not about to allow Bouchard to wage free from his burden. In doing so, he wasted no time proving right those who predicted a highly personal fight to his coming battle with Bouchard, a former federal colleague whose friendship was lost in the constitutional wars. "I happen to know Lucien Bouchard well enough to tell you today he is preparing to change his strategy," boasted Charest, cranking his neck under up a notch as he warned against the premier's "dogmatism."

But as promising as the road ahead in Quebec looks—for now, at least—Charest left behind a choppy wake of confusion and uncertainty in federal circles. The Tory party he loved so much is in

deep difficulty. Despite trying his utmost to "stick together" at a supposedly secret, final meeting in Ottawa last week, divisions emerged almost immediately after Charest and his wife, Michèle, finished their emotional goodbye. In pushing ahead with a contentious argument over who should become interim leader, the 11 remaining MPs savoured the anger, more experienced battle tactics. The senators were split, becoming a high-profile split. Charest is replaced, and were horrified at the prospect of deputy leader Elise Wayne, whom many considered lacking gravitas, taking the job. Some senators even suggested going outside the parliamentary caucus to seek such prominent Tories as former ministers John Crosbie or Barbara McDougall, which would remove the pressure for a quick leadership convention. But the MPs seem poised to assist one of their own, although Wayne was facing competition from well-regarded Brandon MP Rick Boivin.

Finding a capable full-time leader will be far tougher. Despite Charest's dogged rebuff of others, the party is shopping for a new direction while perched on the edge of a political cliff. "I know something about how tough it is to overcome discouragement to build political parties up from nothing, and Charest has done a hell of a rebuilding job," commented former Alberta premier Peter Lougheed in offering an epitaph for the Charest era. Even so, the Tories under Charest were still in the hole and \$100 million in debt. "No money, no people," wined one Tory senator last week, summing up the party's desperation after saying his private farewell to Charest.

Certainly the lot of high-profile candidates takes over the grand party of MacDonald, Diefenbaker and Mulroney in short Alberta Premier Ralph Klein said the job at week's end in Red Deer, claiming, "the place I can make the most difference is here, as premier of Alberta." Klein was by far the most popular choice to replace Charest, and it is unlikely that those Tories who want him to run federally will also endorse—except the old say the word was "blatantly ill." In last week's overheated atmosphere, it was difficult to separate Klein's own wishes from the ambitions of footlight. He showed a lack of discipline in letting details of a private advisers and friends around him, with many Alberta Tories suggesting Klein's conversation with Charest slip ahead of the latter's formal announcement to leave the public pressure to enter to allow color, private planning to proceed. More seriously, his decision to invade the controversial co-oped "Ralph Klein is always seeking challenges, and the spirit of this challenge is not understanding danger in order to limit compensation to Alberta has wasted a lot," said one longtime Calgary Tory last week. "It is nevertheless a vacuum of force (disturbance) last week left many Tories

Jean Charest leaves his party facing a dubious future



Charest, combining a decision to leave the Quebec Liberal leadership with a frontal attack on the Bloc

heart some things, like being confused. But Ralph needs a taller man to answer at face value," responded Tory national director Ross Reid strictly. But Klein has appeared clumsy during his short time in the national spotlight. He showed a lack of discipline in letting details of a private advisers and friends around him, with many Alberta Tories suggesting Klein's conversation with Charest slip ahead of the latter's formal announcement to leave the public pressure to enter to allow color, private planning to proceed. More seriously, his decision to invade the controversial co-oped "Ralph Klein is always seeking challenges, and the spirit of this challenge is not understanding danger in order to limit compensation to Alberta has wasted a lot," said one longtime Calgary Tory last week. "It is nevertheless a vacuum of force (disturbance) last week left many Tories

questioning his political judgment. "If someone suggests using the notwithstanding clause when I'm in the room, for anything, all the warning bells go off," said the leader of another provincial Tory party, shaking his head.

Removing Klein from the equation leaves Tories searching for someone else who might quell the open warfare raging between members over how progressive or conservative the Progressive Conservative party should be. The peace and discipline that power reposed during Brian Mulroney's leadership has long since washed, and the Tories' propensity for attacking their own species re-emerged during the 1987 federal election. In that campaign, Ontario

Tories loyal to Mike Harris argued that the party should pin its campaign exclusively on a tax-cutting message—and were lashed all by Charest and the moderate advisers who argued that such a strategy would destroy the party.

That disagreement created a schism between the Harris and federal wings that has not healed and appears poised to come to a head in a leadership convention. This month, Harris hired Reformers Lane Macbrat as his new communications director. Macbrat first inquired about the job from Tories, when Charest's Quebec adventure had yet to begin. But her appointment in the midst of this dirty period shocked moderate Tories. "It's a pretty clear message from Quebec's Party that I believe a Tories shouldn't count on them for help," said one federal Tory adviser who supports a moderate line.

The Red Tory standard is most likely to be carried in a leadership race by longtime party leader Stephen Harper, who has raised his argument against what he calls neo-conservative extremism. There are also moderate voices suggesting that old warrior Joe Clark should set up for one more battle. After that, the party area will be reeling, as provincial leaders with questionable national appeal, such as Manitoba Premier Gary Filmon, or unknowns like former Manitoba cabinet minister Brian Pallister. The fiction arguing to steer toward a path of ever-deeper cuts to taxes and government is also sounding for a champion, possibly from the Harris government ranks.

Of course, any hard-core conservatives who carry Reform membership cards in their wallets. "Reform is not the enemy. Reform looks a lot like me, like my friends and neighbors," said one senior Manitoba Tory organizer last week, criticizing Charest's strategy of attacking Reformers as extremists. He argues that a new leader needs to woo Reform voters back to the Conservative fold. "We in

the West are not crannied of the people running our party in Ottawa," he said. "Nobody there is in the real world."

The internal Tory divisions are seen as a glorious opportunity by those conservatives trying to build a united alternative to the right of the ruling Liberals. Whether the bulk of Tory and Reform members can ever come together—said, if so, under which name and whose leadership—is a question still up in the air. Reform has taken this lead in trying to unite the two parties. Last week, leader Preston Manning invited all opponents of the federal Liberals to come to a Reform-oriented convention this fall, to explore the idea of creating a new political coalition.

Since Charest's departure became a possibility, Manning has been sounding more like an evangelist for his cause of broadening the party than a man determined to keep his current job. He has offered to quit everything from the party's platform to its name and to serve leadership as far as possible in the shadows. If any Tories are interested, Reform strategists first considered naming their own candidate for Charest's position. They even looked around the notion of naming Manning himself, though the idea was later dismissed for appearing too much like a stunt. "But how much hold can we be?" asks John Kennedy, the youthful Saskatchewan Reform vice leader, the party's current tie looking at the possibility of an alliance.

The 29-year-old Kennedy worries openly that, without a merger of some sort, the split-right-wing vote will keep him on the opposition benches until he is middle-aged. "We're reaching out, but the Tory police guard won't play," he complained one morning last week. Nor will the Tories ease the 19 remaining MPs as cut deep in the Red Tory mold. They barely mention that Canadians will eventually come around to the idea that Manning can never get enough support among moderate right-of-centre voters to form a government—and will throw their votes behind a party that can. As well, they believe that the spread of Reform's self-government crusade is over in an era of balanced budgets. The Charest team had estimated the pool of Canadians who would vote for a strictly right-wing party at less than 25 per cent. "From a strategic standpoint, it makes no sense for moderate conservatives to throw in their lot with extremists," says Bruce Ackerson, an Ottawa columnist who was part of Charest's kitchen cabinet and whose brother-in-law is a top Reform strategist. "You cannot create a coalition that is big enough to win power from the ideological right wing."

But others warn that only a united alternative will ever defeat the Liberals—and that the Tories do not have the luxury of distancing terms. "Sure, many Tories will be leery of anything that smacks of Reform taking them over," says Stephen Harper, a former Reform MP and director of the National Citizens' Coalition in Calgary. "But survival is not an issue for the Reform party. It is for the Tories."

The articulate, 39-year-old Harper has been lashed by some conservatives as the poor man's leader of a radical right-wing party. Last week, Harper would not respond either way when asked. But it is hard to see Tories rallying to Harper, who is such a hardliner on anything that smacks of special status for Quebec that he denounced the modest tone of last September's Calgary declaration as a sellout. As Charest's philosophy is shaped by his Three-ship roots, Harper's views are forged by the swirling political winds of the West. And the views are so extreme that it is difficult to find any federal political force, whatever it is called, will have facing leaders with truly national appeal. □



Reformist, head-to-head with a former Liberal colleague

TURNING UP THE HEAT

The Parti Québécois wasted no time flinging bets at their new nemesis, Jean Charest. In fact, their attacks had merely continued the offensive launched on March 2 when Daniel Johnson announced his resignation as Quebec Liberal leader and the movement began to draft Charest as his successor. Seventy-eight have attempted to cast Charest as the candidate of English Canada—and, worse, of the federal Liberal. Quebec Premier Lucien Bouchard recently declared at a PQ gathering that voting for Charest "will be to vote for Jean Chrétien." Given the Prime Minister's deep unpopularity among francophone Quebecers, it is a label no aspiring premier wants to be saddled with. But provincial Liberals are not the only ones who won't stick—given the well-known political antagonism between the two. Charest, who advocates a conciliatory approach to Quebec, has repeatedly slammed Chrétien's so-called Plan B. Ottawa's hardened response to sovereignty. "Charest has no policies to defend that have come from the federal level," maintains Liberal strategist John Pansella.

That can only help him. Now that he has formally entered provincial politics, Charest must be seen as an ardent defender of Quebec's interests if he hopes to become premier. "If he was against Plan B it was as a civil politician, he'll be seen more as a provincial politician," predicts Louis Balthazar, a Laval University political scientist. Adds Conservative Senator Jean Claude Rivest, a former adviser to Bouchard: "I hope—and think—what he'll do is determine his own agenda." And while Charest promised that federal Liberals will "do everything we can" to help Charest, he says Quebec Liberals "the best thing their federal cousins can do is let him."

But Charest will need to do more than keep his distance from Chrétien. The failures of past Liberal leaders, who unsuccessfully pushed for constitutional reforms to meet Quebec's demands for increased autonomy, have frequently resulted only in an upsurge of support for sovereignty. The party needs a new strategy, maintains Pansella. "It has got to be a new approach to federal provincial relations. And it has got to be a more outward-looking nationalism and one that deals with issues that affect Quebecers," adds Pansella. Charest left no doubt last week in Sherbrooke that Quebec's economic well-being is a key issue. Being open to reform fatigue, Charest declared: "Our economy and our future are held hostage to a political debate that costs us so very dearly."

Charest repeated his speech with phrases like "a new sense of hope." That is clearly evident among provincial Liberals, who are hopeful that a youthful leader—at 39, Charest is 20 years younger than Bouchard—will help attract more youth to the party. But all though opinion polls showed Charest tearing ahead of the PQ, that could easily change in the rough-and-tumble of Quebec politics. Claude Guérin, vice-president of the polling firm GROP Inc., says: "That doesn't mean to say he'll lose all. It is a given, but I think people will evaluate him alongside Mr. Bouchard." The battle for Quebec's affections promises to be fierce.

BRENDA BRANWELL in Sherbrooke

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Liberals



CANADA

Fit to be tied

The Nova Scotia election ends in a dead heat

BY BRIAN BERGMAN

After watching his Liberal government come within a whisker of being defeated in last week's general election, Nova Scotia Premier Robert MacLellan struggled to put his feelings into words. Drawing upon that most Canadian of analogies—hockey—MacLellan told reporters that the seven months since he became Liberal leader had "soured like sudden death overtime." He added that the startling election results—which saw the Liberals and the insurgent NDP tied at 15 seats apiece, with the Conservatives taking the remaining 14—meant "we're going into the second period of overtime." What MacLellan left unsaid was that the Liberals, who entered the 49-day campaign with a 36-seat majority government and a commanding lead in the polls, had effectively been sent to the penalty box by the voters—and that it will take some fancy stickhandling on his part just to get back in the game.

According to Canadian political convention, MacLellan's Liberals are allowed first crack at putting together a minority government. That often, though, is fraught with potential pitfalls. The premier is no second that he will recall the legislature by early May. From that point on, the Liberals could fall as the result of a no-confidence motion triggered by a throne speech, a budget or any other policy matter that the opposition parties decide warrants bringing



MacLellan riding dramatic gains by the NDP

down the government. In that event, either the NDP would be asked to form a government or the legislature would be dissolved, sending the politicians back to the hustings. For MacLellan, 58, one saving grace is that neither NDP Leader Robert Chisholm nor

MacLellan campaigning: a deflating silence before the television cameras

Conservative Leader John Manion is eager to meet voters with his former an ally in office. At Halifax's Saint Mary's University political scientist Leonard Preyra puts it: "I don't think anyone wants to face the electorate again in this mood."

Certainly the election results showed that Nova Scotia voters are feeling pretty these days. In a province that has known only Liberal or Conservative majority governments, the NDP's dramatic gains—the party jumped from four to 15 seats and received more than one-third of the popular vote, 34.7 per cent, compared to 35.5 per cent for the Liberals and 29.7 per cent for the Tories—represented an astonishing break with tradition. The outcome was even more remarkable because MacLellan, with his folksy leadership style, had successfully distanced himself from the unpopular deficit-slashing policies of his Liberal predecessor, John Irving. In fact, MacLellan entered the election campaign on Feb. 12 declaring, it seemed, to win another majority mandate.

So where did it all go so wrong? For one thing, the folksy populist suddenly became the invisible man. For much of the campaign, MacLellan's advisers kept him under wraps, apparently hoping to coast to victory on the strength of their poll numbers. While the opposition parties reinforced detailed policy platforms and hammered the government over health care and education cuts, MacLellan responded with platitudes about how the province was on the cusp of a new era of prosperity thanks to Liberal fiscal prudence. At one point, John Young, a former president of the Liberal party, publicly accused that the Liberal strategy was "not to have a campaign"—a remark that soon found a prominent place in Conservative party newspaper ads. "The Liberals went into the campaign thinking that negative slogans and vague assurances would get them through," notes Preyra. "But it was really seen as arrogance and evidence of the hollowiness of their platform."

The most devastating blow came during the campaign's only leadership debate when Manion, a 56-year-old family physician, twice asked MacLellan whether he would resign if he failed to deliver on his promise to bring in a balanced budget after the election. Both times, the premier stood stock-still before the television cameras and refused to answer. His opponents could not believe their good fortune. As a senior Tory strategist told MacLellan last week, Manion and his advisers had considered prior to the debate how MacLellan might respond. Perhaps, they thought, he would promise to resign. Alternatively, he might dismiss the question as grandstanding. "But we never thought for a minute that he would just say nothing," chuckled the strategist.

The premier's silence proved especially



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defeating because the Liberals had declined to table a budget before calling the election, leading many observers to conclude they had something to hide. And while MacLellan's debate gifts gave both opposition parties an unexpected boost, it was the NDP—which had already established a beachhead in last June's federal election by winning six of the province's 11 seats—that posed the most serious threat. In the campaign's final days, the Liberals went up an advertising hill, deriding how NDP governments in Ontario and British Columbia had bankrupted those provinces. The New Democrats responded with ads of their own, describing how Roy Romanow's Saskatchewan NDP had balanced the budget and cut taxes.

The late Liberal alternative was clearly designed to scare away last-time NDP voters and to encourage Tories in certain ridings to strategically support the Liberals. The plan appeared to fail on both scores. "I think it backfired," says Kelle Thompson, a Dalhousie law professor who commented for the NDP on the return of Chisholm. "It showed the people's intelligence." And it turned out, voters in Halifax Citadel, one of the province's most affluent ridings, elected Peter DeGees, a retired school principal, as their first-ever New Democrat MIA.

The NDP under Chisholm's leadership made similar strides across the province. A 40-year-old, Chisholm is a generation younger than his two main rivals. The product of a prominent Conservative family from Kentville, N.S., he broke ranks after getting involved in the union movement, a decision he says still leads to some "lively chats" whenever he returns home. Ideologically, Chisholm is cut from the same pragmatic cloth as Romanow and British Labour Prime Minister Tony Blair. During the campaign, he preached the need for fiscal responsibility, vowing that an NDP government would "not add one cent to the provincial deficit." In addition to being opposition leader, Chisholm is now very much a primary minister, he told Maclean's last week that, given the levels of support the NDP received, they have as much right to govern as the Liberals. Chisholm's political rivals are meanwhile creating an increased media scrutiny to take some of the sheen off the NDP leader before the next election.

It is MacLellan, though, who faces the biggest hurdle. The first order of business will be the budget, which must show his promised surplus while addressing opposition demands for a relief on the one hand and new spending on the other. Publicly, at least, he remains upbeat. Late last week, MacLellan called reporters into his office to tell them how pleased he was about what lay ahead. "I'm going to have a great time," he said. "There is nothing in life that could possibly give me any more satisfaction than being successful in this." Perhaps. But as he continues to play in sudden death overtime, the senior is taking on this job.

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WHAT MATTERS TO CANADIANS

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Death in the night

An inquiry is called into an RCMP shooting

Peter Mazyrowads says that Sunday, March 22, began like most other days on the Tsuu T'ina reserve, near the Alberta foothills just outside Calgary. But 24 hours later, he notes, "our lives had changed." Connie Jacobs, 37, and her son Ty were dead, the victims of a shotgun blast fired by an RCMP officer in a confrontation that began with a domestic dispute. It ended in tragedy—and unleashed a wave of anger among natives across the country. As aboriginal leaders appealed for calm, Alberta Justice Minister Jon Havelock announced a fatality inquiry—similar to a coroner's inquest in other provinces—into the incident. The RCMP also said that it would share the findings of its own criminal investigation with the Assembly of First Nations and the Tsuu T'ina reserve. But those gestures failed to satisfy many reserve residents. "Our nation will not accept conclusions by the RCMP or the fatality inquiry," said Mazyrowads, a Tsuu T'ina spokesman. "We need an inquiry that is independent, transparent, the RCMP and the Tsuu T'ina nation mark. Our tribal police and social workers are also involved."

According to Alberta's deputy chief medical examiner, Dr. Lloyd Denmark, the victims "died almost instantly from a single shotgun discharge." It was a bloody end to a chain of events that began on the afternoon of March 22 when Connie Jacobs and her husband, Barry, began to fight in their home. One of the poorer houses on a reserve that has grown wealthy from real estate and other business interests, including a 27-hole championship golf course. As the dispute worsened, in the presence of the couple's four children and Connie Jacobs's two grandchildren (all age pairs of age). Ty was the eldest son (three), now 10 years old. Emergency workers who arrived in response to the call found Barry Jacobs with a wound to his face and he was dispatched to hospital. A team comprised of a tribal police officer and social workers also arrived on the scene. And as the confrontation escalated, apparently over the issue of removing the children from the house, tribal police officer, Tommy Badgerhouse,

asked for RCMP backup from the detachment in the nearby town of Okotoks.

At some point during the incident, Jacobs began brandishing a rifle at the tribal workers. She was still armed when RCMP Const. Dave Voller arrived around 7 p.m. that evening. In the darkness, and with the thick snowflakes of a spring storm blowing, he

offered to shoot at the "centre mass." We do not want them to shoot the man from the individual's hand," Assembly of First Nations Grand Chief Phil Fontaine, meanwhile, urged calm to the reserve after the shooting and, in a joint appeal with Tsuu T'ina Chief Roy Whinney, asked "friends and neighbors across the country to remain calm." Among the Tsuu T'ina reserve's 1000 residents, though, emotions continued to run high. "This has got to stop happening to our people," said Patrick Crowchild, 38. "This comes from my heart. We are angry—the shooting is a powder keg and not just here, but all over."

In an effort to defuse tensions, Don McDermott, RCMP assistant commissioner for Alberta, played openness in the death's investigation of the incident. "There will not be



Jacobs (left), saw Ty and her home on the Tsuu T'ina reserve two dead, many questions

approached the house armed with a shotgun. Words were exchanged, Jacobs fired with the rifle and Voller responded with the shotgun—apparently unaware that Ty was standing close to his mother. Voller then returned to his car and called for further backup. It was not until four hours later, after the reserve had been closed off by an RCMP emergency response team, that officers entered the house and found the bodies in the doorway. The remaining children, all of them toddlers and babies—the youngest was seven months old—were found safe in the basement.

Last week, because of their ongoing investigation, the RCMP reneged tight-lipped about the incident. But, said Staff Sgt. Ted Smith, in charge of forensic and victim at the town's training headquarters in Hight, "In situations like this we train our police

two sets of information, so whitewash," he said. "Absolutely everything will be shared." And he added that he hoped the announcement would quell the mistrust that arises when a "profession investigates itself." But federal Solicitor General Andy Scott dismissed, at least for the moment, calls for an independent inquiry, which also came from Fontaine. "We are confident that the results expressed by the Grand Chief of the Assembly of First Nations can be met," he told Mazyrowads, "but I hope that they can be filled in the existing process of the fatality inquiry." Late last week, Allan Wachowich, Chief Justice of Alberta's provincial court, appointed Thomas Goodwin, one of the province's two aboriginal judges, to head the fatality inquiry. Such words and gestures do little to appease some observers. "This better not just be pushed aside," said Crowchild. "Our people won't stand for it."

SUSAN SWEDBERG-KOHL
on the Tsuu T'ina reserve



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Canada NOTES

BISHOP GETS NEW TRIAL

The B.C. Court of Appeal overturned Roman Catholic Bishop Hubert O'Connor's conviction on two sex charges. The judges acquitted O'Connor of one count of indecent assault of a teenage girl, but ordered a new trial on one count of rape. The alleged offences occurred in the 1980s, while O'Connor was principal of a native residential school near Williams Lake, B.C.

DEVELOPMENT IN BANFF

In a nonbinding plebiscite, Banff residents voted 43 per cent in favor of up to 205,000 square hectares of additional commercial development. About 12 per cent voted for more development than that, 13 per cent for less, while a third voted for no growth. Critics say continuing development endangers local wildlife. Federal Heritage Minister Sheila Copps, who last September turned down a development proposal by Banff town council, has the final word.

TAXING SITUATION

The B.C. legislature resumed sitting with a throne speech in which Premier Glen Clark's NDP government promised tax cuts for modesty when it unveils its budget this week. Taxes for small businesses are also expected to fall, as are some personal income taxes. British Columbia is currently reeling economically, in part because of a slump in its timber industry, and the province has the lowest growth projections in Canada.

EUTHANASIA REJECTED

NDP MP Gerald Robson presented a private member's bill in the Commons that would have appointed a committee to examine the Criminal Code sections on euthanasia and doctor-assisted suicide. That bill, however, was defeated, 169 to 86, with the Liberals and Reform party voting against it. The Bloc Québécois, NDP and about half of the Conservatives at the House supported Robson's motion.

DEFICITS ALL AROUND

Newfoundland's Liberal government put forward a \$3.4-billion budget with a \$10-million deficit, but no tax hikes. The province says it will spend an additional \$37 million on health care and education. Prince Edward Island, meanwhile, the Conservative government's \$702.2-million budget forecast a \$3.4-million deficit.



KINGS OF THE HILL: They are princes by title, but Charles and his sons William, 15, and Harry, 13, ruled the ski slopes during a three-day holiday in Whistler, B.C., their first vacation together since the boys' mother, Diana, Princess of Wales, died last Aug. 31. In a reversal of sorts, usually intrusive British reporters scolded their Canadian counterparts for invading the royal's privacy after unauthorized television crews caught the trio climbing into a chairlift. Squalling teenage girls, meanwhile, swooned over the shy Prince William as if he were a pop idol. "He's so hot," 14-year-old Shannon Raimondo of Vancouver said.

Seeing red over a blood deal

Strange greeted a federal and provincial health ministers' announcement of a proposed \$1.4-billion compensation package for people infected with hepatitis C through tainted blood or blood products. The package, details of which are still to be ironed out, will apply only to the estimated 22,000 people who contracted the disease between 1986 and July 1, 1990—and who have the strongest legal case against governments and the Canadian Red Cross Society. (It was during that period that the United States screened blood for hepatitis C—a debilitating liver disease that kills about 30 per cent of its victims—with a test that Canada opted not to use.) Both eligible

and ineligible victims complained that the deal did not include enough money and should have covered all of those infected through tainted blood, as was recommended by the Kremer inquiry into Canada's blood scandal.

As for the package's inclusion of 40,000 self-reported hepatitis C, who for the most part contracted the disease before 1986: How much money each eligible victim would receive has yet to be determined. Federal Health Minister Allan Rock and details will be worked out through negotiations with victims and the final package will then be submitted to the courts for approval. Representative of victims' groups vowed to settle the package

A truant resigns

After a loud public outcry, Senator Andrew Thompson, 73, resigned his seat in the Red Chamber. Appointed in 1987, Thompson attended just 47 of 1,088 Senate sittings in the past 25 years. Thompson, who winters in Mexico, has said he is ill. Last fall, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien expelled the absentee senator

from the Liberal caucus, in February, after senators suspended him without pay for contempt when he did not come to Ottawa to explain his poor attendance. Thompson, who was paid \$75,000 a year, will now collect a \$48,000 annual pension. His departure leaves Liberal Della Wood, 73, a 19-year Senate veteran, as its leading truant. Wood has attended just 25 per cent of sittings since 1990.

When children kill

Two young boys are accused of a horrific schoolyard shooting

BY ANDREW PHILLIPS

The images that a family chooses to keep of its happy moments can be revealing, and the ones saved by the Golden family of Jonesboro, Ark., are no exception. In one, preserved as home video, their son Andrew sits on a automatic pistol with studied confidence, grasping it with both hands and sighting down the barrel. In another, he smiles under a big cowboy hat and cradles a BB gun. In a third, he poses in a camouflage outfit with pet snout rifle. His grandfather, congratulating only a little, and lost track that young Andrew was introduced to firearms "the day his eyes opened."—Andrew Galina, who is still only 11, was clearly comfortable around guns—all too comfortable, as it turned out.

On Tuesday, he skipped his first class and showed up late at Jonesboro's Woodside Middle School, where he was in the sixth grade. His friend Michael Johnson, 13, told his parents he had a stomachache, and didn't go to school at all. Instead, they gathered an arsenal of weapons—three rifles, seven handguns and hundreds of rounds of ammunition—went took it all to a wooded area some 75 m from the school. According to investigators, Andrew returned to class and, at about 13:00 p.m., asked to be excused to go to the toilet area. He set off a fire alarm, then ran outside to join Mitchell in the woods.



Michael Johnson, Andrew Galina: an arsenal

As children poured out of the building, shots rang out from the woods again and again—27 times in all. Within minutes, four people lay dead, one of them Johnson.

Johnson was fatally wounded, and 10 other girls were injured. Jonesboro, the kind of small southern town where people expect to say "It can't happen here," found out in the brutal fashion that yes, it can—and you, it does.

By week's end, Andrew Galina and Michael Johnson were being held in a juvenile detention center, charged with five counts of capital murder and 30 of assault. Andrew, a skinny kid with a buzz cut who looks even younger than his 11 years, was crying and a shell, said, "I'm in a maze." Michael, a chubby boy whose classmates said used to claim membership in the Bloods, a nationwide gang, was reading a Bible. His father, Scott, said his son was "a mess," but had no explanation for what the boy was accused of doing. That of course, did not stop the experts. The tragedy in Jonesboro was the third recent incident involving multiple shooting deaths at southern schools—and it apparently became a battlefield for warring opinions of why children so young can go so wrong. They're the products, and some, of a society that has lost its moral moorings and

is saturated with images of violence. "It should shock us and wake us up," said Arkansas Gov. Mike Huckabee. "It's a cultural disease."

Others pointed to the guns that landed so large in the Golden family's treasure chest. Arkansas has some of the most lax gun laws in the United States. It is illegal for anyone under 21 there to own a handgun, but there are no restrictions on who can possess a rifle or shotgun. Schools around Jonesboro, a city of 10,000, set aside the five farmland of the state's eastern Arkansas, close for as long as a week each school for deer-hunting season. Andrew Golden's experience with guns was typical of boys growing up there, and in much of the South. He was given his first rifle when he was 6. He shot his first duck last year, when he was 10, and planned to try for his first deer in the fall.

And even in the water of last week's killings, there was an arsenal call to Arkansas for a crackdown on firearms. Hunting in the South, people were quick to point out, is a valued hunting experience shared by all. A 23-year-old girl, Cassie Morris, sitting quietly at a roller rink in Jonesboro, jumped into a conversation about the size of bullets used in the shootings, telling off gun terms with ease. She already goes to a gun club with her father, and now, she says, "I want a gun, and I'm going to get one to complete my mother." The state police spokesman in Jonesboro, Bill Sadler, added that "people enjoy their hunting privileges, and they don't want something like this to ruin those privileges." Those attitudes go to the highest levels of state government: Mike Huckabee is a fierce opponent of gun control, and last year even vetoed background checks for people seeking to buy handguns.

There was, at least, no mystery about how the boys obtained their arsenal. According to authorities, they first went on Tuesday morning to Johnson's home and tried to break into a steel safe where his father, Dennis, kept his weapons. They failed, but stole several handguns that were not locked up. Then, they went to the home of Andrew's grandfather, Douglas Golden, a gun collector and hunter. They broke in through a basement window and stole three rifles, more handguns and 10,000 rounds of ammunition. Doug Golden, a state wildlife officer, and later that Andrew admitted to him that they used his guns. "I don't know what in God's name they could have been thinking," he said.

The boys then allegedly loaded the weapons into a grey van and parked on a road near the school. Mitchell lay in wait in the woods, while Andrew went inside. When police responded to a 911 emergency call at 12:45 p.m., they spotted the boys emerging from the woods and running towards the van. Mitchell, police said, was carrying a 30-06 hunting rifle. Andrew had a .30-06 rifle, a sawed-off crossbow, hunting knives and wilderness survival gear. The boys, it appeared, had planned to run away.

In fact, Mitchell Johnson had told classmates as much the day before. No one took him seriously, they said later, but the warnings were specific and harrowing. Mitchell, they said, was upset that a girl in the sixth grade, Candace Porter, had broken up with him. On Monday, he threatened other students at school. "He told us that if we weren't you will find out if you live or die," seventh-grader Melissa Hansen told a local newspaper. Charles Vanover, another seventh-grader, said: "He told me that all the people who broke up with him,



Andrew Galina at 6: comfortable with guns

THE FIREARMS FILE

- About 41 per cent of U.S. households have guns, according to surveys. There is no figure for Arkansas alone, but it is part of a hot-spots region (with Texas, Louisiana and Oklahoma) where polls say 54 per cent of households have firearms. In Canada, the figure is about 26 per cent.
- The number of people killed annually by guns (homicide, suicide and accident) is about 3.8 per 100,000 in Canada, 13.7 across the United States and 20.2 in Arkansas.
- A study by the Chicago-based National Opinion Research Center found gun ownership highest among middle-aged, college-educated residents of rural areas or small towns.
- U.S. government figures show the number of youths arrested for murder is declining in urban and suburban America, but rising in rural America.

the killer was apparently part of a bad-boy group."

Not that there are any general trends towards more violence among young people in the United States. On the contrary, a study released last week by the Justice Policy Institute, a Washington think-tank, shows that homicide arrests among juveniles dropped by 36 per cent between 1994 and 1996. The reason, said researcher John Fienberg, is the general drop in crime across the United States coupled with tighter federal regulations on handguns adopted in 1993. "There is no trend," said David Muste. "There is a puzzle, but it's a false puzzle." The disconnect between reality and perception, he suggested, may be partly explained by another study. The Center for Media and Public Affairs, also in Washington, found that coverage of murder in the nightly newscasts of the three major American networks is up by 700 per cent since 1983.

There may be little support for stricter gun control in Arkansas, but the billings did prompt some tough treatment of juvenile offenders. Since both accused killers in Jonesboro are under 14, they can be detained only until age 18 under Arkansas law, even if they are judged responsible for the murders. A federal bill that would encourage states to try violent younger offenders in adult courts has been stalled in Congress, but the state of high-profile school killings gave it new life. The irony is that such measures would do nothing to stop children like Michael Johnson and Andrew Galina from getting hold of guns and using them—but only make it easier to lock them up for long periods after they have inflicted their pain.

With SCOTT PARKER in Jonesboro

Yeltsin's surprise

A cabinet cleanout elevates a youthful reformer

How to make a Russian politician nervous:
1) Freeze him repeatedly. 2) Give him a medal. 3) Discredit him as ineffectual.

Boris Yeltsin did all of the above with Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin last week. Then, he abruptly fired the five-year veteran and his entire 25-member team in Russia's biggest cabinet shakeup since the collapse of communism. The surprise dismissals touched off an epidemic of head-scratching, arguments and conspiracy theories.

Why had he done it? Yeltsin himself explicated some of the reasons, criticizing the outgoing team for lacking the ideas, energy and zeal to carry out Russia's lagging program of economic reforms. Many Kremlin-watchers were quick to point out another reason, hinted at by Yeltsin: With presidential elections looming, Chernomyrdin and other key leaders were spending more time jockeying for the country's top job than learning Russian kerk to wards capitalism in crime. "The presidential elections of the year 2000 are of primary importance to us," said Yeltsin. "The law of the country is at stake."

With his trademark flair for the dramatic, the 67-year-old Yeltsin has again underlined his position as the most powerful political figure in Russia—and anything but a lame duck. The main shakings led the field wide open for presidential candidates to succeed him—while retaining the possibility that although he is, Yeltsin, too, might not for a third four-year term as president (a constitutional court will soon rule on whether he is allowed to). In any event, Yeltsin quickly admitted that many of the fired cabinet members would be responsible for directly appointing who replaced Prime Minister Igor Sergeyev, who has the thankless job of reforming Russia's decaying military forces, and Foreign Minister Yevgeny Primakov needn't clear out their desks. Many analysts also believed he would name Boris Nemtsov, 38, the loudly favored first vice-premier who in recent months has been voted as a power

ful successor to Yeltsin. In fact, Yeltsin astonished Russians by tapping 35-year-old Sergei Kiriyenko, a protégé of Nemtsov, to be prime minister. It has been little more than a year since the two young reformers traveled from the provincial town of Nizhny Novgorod, 400 km east of Moscow, to join the stragglers of the Kremlin.

Kiriyenko, a slightly bald and little-known banker who entered the cabinet only in No-



The president announcing (top) deputy Kiriyenko (bottom) getting ready for the 2000 election



members underlined at least one permanent aspect of the shakeup: he moved into the office vacated by controversial privatization czar Anatoly Chubais. The former first deputy vice-premier has long been a close ally of Yeltsin's inner circle, but Chubais is unlikely to hold a formal government title for a while. He had become the most unpopular politician in the country because of the billions under way he sold off state assets to well-connected oligarchs and tycoons.

Despite the surprise element, Washington and other foreign capitals seemed reassured by Yeltsin's assurances that the reshuffle did not signal a departure from free-market policies. But on the home front, there were clear signs of political clashes ahead. For one thing, Yeltsin would be sidestepping old in part because his regime is again falling behind at

its wage payments to teachers, soldiers and millions of state employees. And an economy minister Kiriyenko is heavily aware, Russia, the world's third-largest oil producer after Saudi Arabia and the United States, gets 20 per cent of its tax revenues from a commodity whose world price has declined sharply in recent months (page 68). Opposition factions in the Communist-dominated Duma, or lower house of parliament, are organizing nationwide demonstrations for April 5 to protest the ballooning wage shortfall.

By then, the Duma will have held its first vote on whether to confirm Kiriyenko, due within a week of his formal nomination by Yeltsin on March 27. Acceptance is far from certain, and Communist party leader Gennady Zyuganov delivered a tepid assessment of the nominee's profile following a two-hour meeting with him last week. "We don't yet have full information about the situation in areas other than the one he has worked in," complained Zyuganov. Still, many analysts hold that the Duma will eventually approve Yeltsin's man. Besides, for a third time would allow the president to dissolve the legislature and rule by decree—has preferred made—until new parliamentary elections are held months later. Moreover, most major opposition parties clearly they would lose seats in any new voting.

The Duma can money Yeltsin and delay legislative approval of his policies, but the constitution that the president largely dictated and the years ago centralization of power in his hands. More likely, the immediate future will be shaped by powerful figures working behind the scenes for their own interests. Former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev was naming a chorus of political observers who noted that Boris Berensovsky, one of the most prominent of Russia's new super-rich entrepreneurs, is also a financial adviser to Yeltsin.

Yeltsin's daughter and a trusted member of the president's inner circle. According to Gorbachev and others, Berensovsky played a key role in the shakeup, which ousted his longtime political enemy, Chubais. As well, added Gorbachev, "For Berensovsky there is a connection between the cabinet reshuffle and the upcoming presidential elections"—namely, that the pro-market candidates will be seeking the backing of the country's new rich. In Russia, even more than most places, money talks loudest of all.

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World NOTES

ISRAEL OFFERS NEW DEAL

Israel offered a new formula for withdrawing from up to 12 per cent of the West Bank in an effort to head off an even more extensive proposal from Washington. The new Israeli plan includes adjacent areas of land, to counter Palestinian complaints that Israel was offering only disjointed patches. While hosting a visit by UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu also said Israel is prepared to withdraw its troops from southern Lebanon.

GREENPEACE TARGET

Four protesters from the environmental group Greenpeace locked themselves to the crane on a Canadian cargo ship docked in Greenock, Scotland, in an effort to prevent it from unloading a shipment of B.C. timber and pulp from the firm Western Forest Products. Greenpeace opposes the company's logging of a protected forest on the B.C. coast. In Frankfurt, Greenpeace activists chained themselves to the gates of a court party that buys WFP pulp.

EURO APPROVED

After years of fine-tuning their economies, 11 countries were deemed fit to use a common European currency beginning next January. Ready for the Euro are Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, Ireland, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal and Spain. Britain, Sweden and Denmark have all opted out and Greece failed to meet the criteria.

ASIAN CRISIS RAGES

New people were killed as Indonesian migrants in neighboring Malaysia rioted at a detention camp before being deported. The clashes were rebelling against "Operation Go Home," a Malaysian attempt to crack down on illegal immigrants escaping Asia's economic crisis. Meanwhile, more than 1,000 rock-throwing students clashed with police in Indonesia's capital, Jakarta, while calling for "people power" against President Suharto.

NO MORE CANING

British MPs voted to ban corporal punishment in private schools, 12 years after it was outlawed in state schools. Use of the cane for discipline was once widespread in elite British boarding schools, but most have abandoned the practice in recent years.

A boost for Africa

Leaving Washington acclimated for behind, President Bill Clinton and Vice President Al Gore embarked on a diversion tour of Africa designed to help expand the impoverished continent's role in the world economy. The trip began on a dramatic note when up to 500,000 people turned out to see the Clintons in Accra, Ghana, and many rushed dangerously forward when the President waded into the crowd. A bearded Clinton shouted "Back off!" until police restored order. As the first U.S. president in 20 years to visit the continent—and the first ever to visit South Africa—Clinton spoke of a "new African renaissance," and stressed the value of trade as much as aid. But he did dole out financial promises along the way, including \$120 million for African education and another \$420 million added to the \$980 million American aid effort on the continent.

It was also a trip of apology for America's history of exporting slavery—"We were wrong in that," he said in Lagos—and for the failure of the international community to stop the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. At an emotional meeting



Mandela shows Clinton his former jail; apology for slavery

with survivors during a three-hour stop at Kigali airport, Clinton regretted that "we did not act quickly enough."

But the high point of the trip last week was a triumphant visit to South Africa, viewed as the key entry point to Africa's economy. Clinton toured President Nelson Mandela's former prison jail cell where he was held as a political prisoner under apartheid, and bailed the end of white rule as an "affirmation of humanity at its best." Even an, Mandela mimed on words in defending his ties to Libya, Cuba and Iran. Those countries are viewed as pariahs by Washington, but finally supported the anti-apartheid struggle.

USA

Legal suicide in Oregon

A woman in her mid-40s who was suffering from breast cancer became the first person known to have self-administered suicide under Oregon's 1994 Death

with soup and a salad. She was found by her doctor, who said she had been in the hospital for a half hour. The family ruled out a meningitis, meningitis before her death, saying she looked forward to being "released of all this stress I have." State officials said they have documented 10 such deaths.

British fears over anthrax

Alarming intelligence reports that Iraq was plotting to unleash a deadly anthrax attack in Western countries created near panic in Britain, forcing Prime Minister Tony Blair to publicly calm fears. All sorts of culprits were on alert for the war, but a small amount could kill hundreds of thousands of people if it were released into the air. Canada, which joined Britain

anthrax could be injected in dry, dusty particles. Baghdad called the report "baseless."

UN inspectors, meanwhile, began weapons monitoring in Iraq at sites previously declared off-limits. The inspections were the first test of a February agreement brokered by UN Secretary General Kofi Annan that would allow possible military show-downs. The inspectors initially pushed the co-operation they received from Baghdad.



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Has oil hit bottom?

OPEC is desperately attempting to halt the slump in prices

BY MARY NEMETH

In the corridors of Calgary's tilted glass skyscrapers, in coffeehouses and along the slushy, snowbound downtown streets, one could almost hear the collective sigh of relief last week as oil prices moved upward, at last. Alberta's oil capital had watched with creeping trepidation as the price of benchmark West Texas Intermediate crude tumbled from more than \$22 (U.S.) last fall, to a nine-year low of \$11.21 (U.S.) in mid-March, before recovering last week to trade around \$16 (U.S.). The bounce came as news that two groups of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, Saudi Arabia and Venezuela, along with non-OPEC Mexico, had secretly brokered a multinational deal to cut oil production by at least 1.1 million barrels a day beginning in April 1. After the initial uptick in oil prices, however, some analysts began to question whether OPEC's data would be deep—or durable—enough to stabilize the market. "There is a significant risk that this agreement will not hold," said Teresa Courchesne, senior economist with the Toronto Dominion Bank. "That means there will be a fair amount of volatility in oil prices."

That will hurt some sectors of the oilpatch more than others. Most susceptible are producers of heavy oil, several of which have already scaled back development and production plans. So far, though, the effects have largely bypassed Alberta's economy and its provincial treasury. Nor do Atlantic Canada's megadollar offshore oil projects appear threatened. Still, \$16 (U.S.) is well below the \$20 (U.S.) average price of contracts were earning last year. And it is lower than the \$17.50 (U.S.) that Alberta treasury officials were counting on in February when they forecast a surplus for the 1998-1999 budget. As a result, they as well as the energy industry will have their attention focused closely on Vienna this week, where OPEC's oil ministers are expected to meet to confirm their plan to cut.

What has pulled down prices is an underlying trade imbalance. Demand has been depressed by the Asian economic crisis and by a warm winter in northern climates, while OPEC members have increased output. In an attempt to reverse the imbalance, various groups were negotiating last week, trying to increase the world's proposed production cut to 2.6 million barrels a day—2.6 percent of the world's estimated daily crude supply. Producers, however, have had difficulty curtailing production in the past. "OPEC typically exceeds

its production on the Gold 1, the project will be lasting for weeks on a scale that Canada's Petroleum Ltd. of Calgary, its co-owner, announced in February a gradual cutback to its heavy oil production, along with 200 barrels across all divisions—more than 16 per cent of its workforce. And spokesman Alan Deane said that OPEC's action would not reverse either decision. "Certainly, we've been encouraged," said Deane. "But unless these things are proven to be sustained, you have to just continue to work."

For the most part though, the oilpatch will sense way from entering panic mode. For one thing, every criterion of the boom-and-bust 2005 in Alberta leaves the energy industry unscathed. Oil's price is still following healthy returns, and economic investment will shift to that from oil. And a few firms continue to plan for robust growth, despite the current slump. Suncor Energy Inc. of Calgary has confirmed plans to spend \$4 billion over the next four years, most of it to double its oilfield production, which Suncor upgrades and sells as light crude oil.

In fact, Alberta's economy is still expected to lead the country, with 3.8-per-cent growth in its gross domestic product this year, according to a Scotiabank report released last week. "Obviously, the oil price is important to Alberta," says the Royal Bank's chief economist, John McCollum. "But I think Alberta is at a boom-and-bust economy today than it was 30 years ago." McCollum noted that energy companies have tended to keep costs low and finance recent expansions more through

imposed div at Cold Lake, cutbacks and a supply glut

in Alberta. It also has been on top of the world with an absolutely booming economy," he adds. If oil stays around \$16 (U.S.), "Alberta will still be a booming economy—just not quite as much of a boom as it was 30 years ago."

Alberta's Canadian oil hopes also remain high, despite a brush with \$12.96 (U.S.) crude—the minimum price the \$3-billion Hibernia project off Newfoundland needs to break even. "We've been concerned, certainly today," said Harvey Smith, president of the Hibernia Management and Development Co. Ltd. in St. John's, Nfld. "But there's not a law we can do except ramp up to production as soon as possible. Once we get to peak, our operating costs will be extremely competitive."

Analysts add that offshore megaprojects such as Hibernia and Terra Nova (due to come onstream in 2003) are simply too large to respond to run-of-the-mill price fluctuations. "You are talking about huge capital investments with long, long lead times before they start pumping oil," says Wade Loefer, an economist at Memorial University in St. John's. Once companies have sunk capital into a project of that magnitude, he said, "the price would have to drop quite a bit for them to say, 'We just don't want to pump any more oil.'"

Prices would have to drop a lot further still to knock the Alberta budget off track. Prices were high enough in the early part of the 1980-1996 fiscal year, which ended in March 2000, to offset recent declines. As well, other revenues, particularly from natural gas and corporate income taxes, were higher than expected. As a result, Treasurer Stockwell Day was able in mid-March to announce a \$2.3-billion surplus for the current fiscal year, more than \$2 billion higher than first projected.

Alberta's government has hinted it might get additional money into health care in the months ahead. But that is one area where falling oil prices may begin to pinch. Provincial law forbids Day from running a budget deficit, and some Albertaians fear that any drop in revenue will force the government to make further spending cuts. "My concern," said Liberal treasury critic Gene Zwozdesky, "is that if oil prices remain low, they are looking themselves into a corner that can only mean more cuts in important programs." There is, however, a forecast \$165-million surplus plus a \$400-million contingency built into Day's 1998-1999 budget. That cushion, according to treasury calculations, would allow the province to ride out a price drop as low as \$16 (U.S.)—even if natural gas prices also dip.

Optimistic sentiments and government calculations all come with one rider, however: that oil prices do not go all the way down, and stay there. As the Royal Bank's McCollum puts it: "At \$16, things are pretty much bad." At \$12, things are pretty bad. "As though the falling oil on the upper end of that range, one thing seems clear: after several years of relatively strong and stable oil prices, uncertainty and volatility have returned to the market. Which means even the most optimistic Calgarians are likely to keep their eyes glued on whatever turns the market tables next.

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The Bottom Line

Second-class shares

The world of business is full of mid-ages. What, for example, does a B.C. broadcaster have in common with an Ontario retailer? The answer: the abuse of their minority shareholders.

The families that respectively control WFC Western International Communications Ltd. of Vancouver and Schneider Corporation of Richelieu, Ont., are currently embroiled in nasty disputes with their outside investors. Each company has a dual-class share structure, which allows the founding family to preserve control of the firm, while public

investors finance it by selling the equity. Now, Emily Griffiths and the Schneiders finally each plan to sell that control, without giving equity stakeholders a voice or vote on the future direction of the company.

In recent years, Canadian corporations have been forced to pay more attention to the issues of shareholder rights and corporate governance. Investors, especially among large institutions, have more influence in the selection and compensation of top executives. As well, directors are now held more accountable for their decisions, and the quality of public disclosure has improved. But the continued existence of dual-class share structures within many companies undermines the discipline of open-capital markets and allows families and senior managers to entrench themselves—regardless of their performance.

With few exceptions, shareholders are aware of the risks when they invest in companies with two classes of stock. Some money managers even have rules prohibiting the purchase of non-voting or subordinate equities. But because of the relatively small size of Canadian capital markets, large pension funds or RBC-style mutual funds have limited choices. That is because they are required by federal law to invest 60 per cent of their money in Canada.

Many Canadian companies offer investors little choice but to buy subordinate voting shares. Entrepreneurs who start companies are often reluctant to lose control

of their vision. So they avoid—or entrench—themselves and their descendants with multiple voting powers. In some sectors, like the broadcast industry, two-tiered share structures also allow companies to raise public capital without violating Canadian ownership requirements.

These structures have been in place for decades. But the issue of excluding minority shareholders from voting on major changes and participating in buy-back buyouts first gained widespread national attention in 1980. That year, the Wilfong family successfully attempted to retain control stake in Canadian Tire at a huge premium to market without including the public investors.

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Business NOTES

MOVING CHIPS

The world's leading microchip maker, Intel Corp. of Santa Clara, Calif., lost a driving leader when Hungarian-born CEO Andrew Grove said he would turn his position over to his deputy, Craig Barrett. Grove, who coined the phrase "only the paranoid survive," and led the maker of the Pentium computer chip to become the world's seventh-largest company, had recently suffered from cancer while Intel's profits plunged. Grove will, however, continue as the chip-maker's president, and said he would remain active in its affairs.

MAGNA SCORES

After years of making auto parts, Magna International Inc. of Auburn, Ont., is poised to become a car manufacturer, after winning a \$440 million bid for Austrian automotive group Steyr-Daimler-Puch AG. The company assembles cars, sports utility vehicles and various personal carriers for Fiat, Alfa Romeo and Lancia.

MINER DODGES BULLET

Royal Oak Mines Inc., which had warned that it might have to abandon its \$470 million gold and copper mine at Keweenaw, in north-central British Columbia, seems relieved when president Margaret Wade revealed that Toronto-based Trizec Financial Corp. will provide it with a \$189 million loan package. "The cash," Wade said, "makes Royal Oak bullet proof."

MAI NOW MIA

Opponents of a proposed Multilateral Agreement on Investment rejected as negotiations acknowledged that the planned treaty—which would have set ground rules for trans-national investment—would not be ready by an April 27 deadline. The convention by the 39-nation Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, which had sponsored the pact, was widely viewed as a sign the initiative is dead.

CLOSING RANKS AT BELL

Bell Canada and BCE Inc.—the holding company that split off from Bell in 1983—announced they will merge several administrative departments at their Montreal head offices, laying off 200 managers to do so. The two companies will continue to operate with separate boards. But BCE president Jean Morley will assume the additional title of chief executive in May. Morley is already chairman and chief executive at Bell.

CanWest fires back at WIC

A week after Winnipeg's CanWest Global Communications Corp. was shut out of a deal to transfer control of Vancouver-based WIC Western International Communications Ltd. to two Alberta families, CanWest responded with a hostile takeover bid for the company. On March 14, Emily Griffiths, whose husband Frank Griffiths expanded WIC into a \$485-million-a-year media conglomerate, sold her 60-per-cent stake in WIC voting stock for \$91 million. This deal left control of WIC almost entirely divided between Shaw Communications Inc. of Calgary—still a media conglomerate, almost WIC's size—and the private holding company of the Allard family of Edmonton, long-standing Griffiths allies. On March 23, CanWest chairman Ray



Allard, bid for a "hostile" clause.

Shaw Communications Inc. of Calgary—still a media conglomerate, almost WIC's size—and the private holding company of the Allard family of Edmonton, long-standing Griffiths allies. On March 23, CanWest chairman Ray

Allard, whose company already owned 30 per cent of WIC's non-voting B shares (the largest single block) announced that CanWest had bought that stake to 35 per cent, and unveiled a \$650-million offer for all remaining WIC stock of either class. It was Allard's second try for WIC, an earlier bid, in 1995, was unsuccessful.

The bid for WIC's B shares appears to guarantee that CanWest can win a ruling from regulators or the courts to trigger a so-called control clause in WIC's shareholder agreement. If successful, the clause would transfer all WIC B shares into voting stock, a step that could put control in CanWest's hands. Shaw president Ray Shaw, meanwhile, said his company would not tender its shares to the CanWest offer.

Crossing phone lines

A merger between Edmonton-based Telus Corp. and AT&T Canada Long Distance Services Co. of Bell Inc. is likely to act as a wide-ranging round of consolidations in the country's telecommunications industry, analysts said. At Telus, part of the Sprint consortium of 11 large U.S. telephone companies that has dominated long-distance traffic for 65 years in Canada, disclosed that they were in negotia-

tions "that could lead to a possible business combination" with AT&T, which is not a member of the group. AT&T and Sprint forces, warned Terry Jarvis, a vice-president at Bell Canada, another Sprint partner. "The national alliance will need to be negotiated." But investors need the Telus revelation as a signal that a long-awaited restructuring of the telecommunications sector is the last of deregulation is about to begin, driving up the price of shares in phone and cable carriers.

FINANCIAL OUTLOOK

Canada's annual inflation rate is expected to rise to one per cent in February, down from 1.3 per cent the month before. But some economists warned that inflation could be about to climb. In an ominous sign, the cost of inflation rate—which includes food and energy costs—jumped to 1.6 per cent in February, up from only 0.8 per cent in December. The increase was fuelled in part by higher cable-TV rates, higher cigarette taxes in several provinces, and an increase in travel costs because of the weak dollar.

Some analysts said the rising cost rate could prompt the Bank of Canada to boost interest rates. Meanwhile in Winnipeg, Bank of Canada governor Gordon Thiessen vowed to keep inflation in check to sustain the country's strongest economic performance in a generation.

With a stock market boom in the wake of the Bank of Canada's decision to keep interest rates low, that may simply take the place of allowing the Canadian dollar to rally—a very positive move for Canadian securities.

—Scotta Capital Markets

"Quebec and Ontario are at the high end, albeit with still moderate inflation rates of 1.5 and 1.2 per cent. In contrast, B.C. prices have slipped below a year ago, undercut by the weak provincial economy."

—MetLife Securities



Personal Finance

Calls to lift a cap on RRSPs

Canadian investors could boost their retirement dollars if Ottawa increased the foreign-content limit on registered retirement savings plans, says the Conference Board of Canada. The Ottawa-based economic think-tank adds that raising or removing the current 30 per cent cap on foreign content in RRSPs would have little impact on the ability of Canadian companies to raise money.

Since 1980, foreign stock declines have generally outperformed the benchmark Toronto Stock Exchange 300 index. Had the RRSP cap been relaxed to 40 per cent between 1985 and 1995, a retirement account invested in the maximum in foreign securities would have earned 3.25 per cent more than an all-Canadian stock portfolio, and 1.5 per cent more than an account with only 20 per cent invested in foreign holdings. For an investor putting away \$5,000 a year over 35 years, that extra 1.5 per cent on the average annual return could generate an additional \$148,000. The Conference Board report reinforces a recent recommendation by the Senate banking committee calling for an end to the foreign-investment limit. Observers predict Ottawa will act in its next budget, if not sooner.



Fast forward: Foreign markets have outperformed Canadians

by intelligently raising the limit to 30 per cent.

In the meantime, the industry has yet to convince Canadians ever to make use of the 40 per cent limit, says Doug Richards, president of Warfaring Securities, a Toronto-based financial services consulting firm. Fully 90 per cent of RRSP investors, he says, have no foreign content in their portfolios. "There's this apprehension that investing outside Canada will expose you to undue risk," says Richards. In fact, analysts say that diversifying geographically, as well as by investment type, is one of the best ways to safeguard portfolios.

stock analyst and editor of *High Tech Stocknet*, "and low sharing an economic boost."

Clouds are gathering over other sectors as well. Profits at American corporations slumped 2.3 per cent during the final three months of 1997 from the previous quarter, the U.S. census bureau reported said. It was the worst drop since the first three months of 1994. And in Vancouver, market analysts Robert Hope said that of seven technical indicators that have preceded previous bear markets to date, five are now pointed into negative territory. Hope predicts a downturn will hit major markets within months. Still, other observers insist that low inflation and, in Canada, a balanced federal budget, provide the right conditions for stock prices to continue their run-up indefinitely.

Bears in the bushes

With North American stock exchanges flirting almost daily with new record highs, a growing chorus is warning that the bull run may be nearly over. Analysts say the warning signals of an impending correction in stock prices are especially strong in high-technology stocks—for many months the deflating of investors. Sales of personal computers have been falling ever since 1995, driving down profit margins as many manufacturers responded by cutting prices. An oversupply of computer chips has slung profits in that sector, and firms betting on the Internet have not seen the revenue growth they expected. "For the first time, the PC industry is showing no growth," noted Fred Hickley, a Naisba, N.B.,

FORECAST: BUILDING BOOM Property markets will remain strong in most forecasts by CIBC Commercial Real Estate Group Canada Inc. "These are the good old days," CIBC Commercial chief spending officer Blake Kischman told an audience of real estate industry executives in Toronto. Kischman added that industrial real estate will outperform commercial properties. The good times, he concluded, will eventually end—but not until 2001.

Money Talks

Caught in the Web

The Internet is rife with investment advice, warns The Internet Investor (HarperCollins Publishers Ltd., \$28) a 355-page guide to online financial information by J. Timothy Maule, a former stockbroker and operator of Canadian Financial Network Inc., an Internet Website. Web surfers should be wary of "hot stocks" discussed in open chat groups or advertised on-line, Maule warns. The legitimacy of brokers on the Net should be verified by telephoning the North American Securities Administrators Association at (202) 737-0900. The association can help callers confirm the appropriate securities regulator to find out whether the broker is licensed. The bottom line? Deals that sound too good to be true probably are.



Prices in overdrive

New cars are less affordable than ever, according to a Royal Bank report. Based on an average after-tax employment and investment income of \$37,280 a year, and an average auto price of \$29,690, it took a typical consumer 41.7 weeks to pay for a vehicle last year—compared with 39.3 weeks in 1996. The steady rise in auto prices may be one reason that leasing now accounts for about 40 per cent of all new autos, compared with 10 per cent in 1992.

Weeks required to pay for a new vehicle

1992	29.3
1997	29.6
1996	39.3
1997	41.7

Not waiting for help

Only one per cent of Canadians questioned in a recent survey said they would rely on government programs to improve their financial situation. The largest number of the 1,014 respondents, 33 per cent, said they would simply spend less, while investing emerged as the second most popular option. The poll, conducted for the accounting firm of Deloitte & Touche, found that interest in investing was lowest in Quebec—1.8 per cent—compared with 29 per cent elsewhere in Canada.

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BRAVE NEW EPOQUE

What does the future hold for Canada? Will the millennium bring the same advances in medicine and science we have seen in our lifetime? What will work be like in the year 2005? How will the global economy function? Where will Canada rate? Will the environment be safe? These are the kinds of questions Maclean's will explore in a series of monthly ESSAYS ON THE MILLENNIUM. The first, which examines leadership in the next century, was written by Allan Gregg, chairman of the polling and consulting firm The Strategic Council.

BY ALLAN R. GREGG

Birthdays. Anniversaries. New Year's. These are celebrations of the most important passages in our lives. Around the world and throughout the ages, these milestones have provided continuity for people and societies. They have served as benchmarks against which we measure time and our own progress through life and history. But the end of the second millennium and the beginning of the third in something else again, a time to reflect on where we are going.

But before peering into the future, it is helpful to first look back to see how we have changed. Canadian leadership beliefs systems began to get after the Second World War. Four decades of prosperity caused us to believe that our next one would always be better, the next house unimaginably bigger, the next paycheck unimaginably fatter, and the next generation's standard of living immeasurably better. In short, we came to believe that progress was both normal and inevitable.

We started to question that belief for the first time with the erosion of confidence brought on by rampant inflation and interest rates in the early '80s. The failure of free-market solutions (namely government) to provide relief further eroded the belief that progress was normal. Today, Canadians accept that we live in a world of diminished opportunities. The public also has concluded that not everyone in society will share equally in the diminished opportunities that are available.

Such conclusions—that there are limits to progress and that the haves will be participating more than the have-nots—are revolutionary. They stand in stark contrast to the mindsets of our pioneer colonialist culture. As well, in the past 15 years we have witnessed a breakdown in trust of traditional authority, whether government, union or church. That transformation has resulted in a population less ready to rely on leaders and more likely to have higher expectations of itself.

That is a profound break with our past tradition. When the late Canadian historian William R. Inge characterized Canada as the Peaceable Kingdom, he did not realize that it was

but the program often was in the preservation of the Canadian peace. As long as such passing protection bought into the notion that opportunities were limitless, the need and demand for radical reform or restructuring of society's institutions and rules were minimal. Canada was not only peaceful, but it was also one of the most defensible societies, if not the most defensible, in the Western world. We accepted authority more or less without question, and looked to our leaders to arbitrate if the need arose, to actually provide for the public good. The product of this disposition was a public-policy landscape that was radically different from the unfettered laissez-faire environment of the United States, and resulted in distinctive measures such as Medicare, regional development programs and an income-support network for the disadvantaged.

There is no doubt about the popularity of government intervention in a crisis, one need only recall that the single most popular solution by government in modern times was the implementation of the War Measures Act in October, 1950. According to a Gallup poll conducted in December, 2000, the Trudeau Liberals' popularity soared from 42 per cent to 59 per cent.

All that has changed. Far from defensible, Canadians rarely extend the benefit of the doubt to presidential leaders. This change has resulted in a decidedly less complex electoral rule with demands as diverse as public consultation before major initiatives and legislation to resolve legislative processes.

The loss of faith in traditional authority, in turn, has been offset by a growing sense of individualism and entitlement. Partially accelerated by the entrepreneurship of the Charter of Rights, and a natural outgrowth of the public's conviction that traditional power centres such as governments can no longer provide solutions, Canadians in the '90s have increasingly turned inward. They have sought new rights and powers necessary to protect decision-making from their leaders. They have also gathered into groups to demand children to advance their causes, all the while meaning that others would not

October, 1995. No rally in Montreal, the Quebec question, which has dominated this century, will reverberate into the new millennium.

receive more than their share of our unwelcome nationalistic enmity, writ large. In other words, the breakdown of trust in traditional authority and individualism also caused many citizens to question the very premises through which we have created our society. If progress was normal, then the foundation of normality was accepted as science and common sense. We were to be ever propelled forward by scientific advancement and a rationalist approach to all problem-solving. Once progress no longer seemed inevitable and problems appeared to be getting worse rather than better, we began to re-examine the main assumptions through which we viewed our world. The result has been growing trepidation as the part of Canadians to experiment and to begin a quest for meaning outside of a traditional scientific/rational model.

The success of an entire series of new-age "fables" such as the best-selling *The Celestine Prophecy*, the appearance of angels on the covers of popular magazines, and the explosion of life-affirming seminars in conference rooms throughout the land are manifestations of the new scepticism, the endless extension of new beliefs and practices and the decline or demise of institutions like Enron's, signal a population that refuses to accept unquestioningly the norms of the past, and their readiness to embrace the unknown of the future.

Canadians have not rejected their past, but they have merely learned a lesson to the present. If the next psychopoe is not going to be better, then maybe self-empowerment will be the best way of obtaining the maximum amount of work. If government can no longer be expected to provide the public good, then the public good can be realized by the private sector. And if science cannot provide all the answers in an uncertain world, then there is always spirituality.

Rather than being alienated or fatalistic, about their new circumstances, the population is more resilient, with a renewed sense of en-

agement. However, even in the face of this altered outlook, Canadians still will be seen changing drastically in these aspects of our character that we regard as unique. Indeed, perhaps the most enduring aspect of the Canadian identity has been the very desire to remain distinctive and different, even if we cannot define what precisely it is that makes us distinct. While we seem loath to trumpet tangible accomplishments, we still point to our civility, charity and generosity as key central characteristics of our national self-image. And if we have difficulty articulating who we are, we are nonetheless steadfast in our refusal to so bow to the juggernaut of American culture.

The Maclean's 1997 year-end survey of attitudes within different age groups underscored a rock-solid commitment to social liberalism that appears to have been transmitted across generations and is now being amplified by Canada's youth culture. Our willingness to accept diversity in others and to protect the foundations of our universal health-care and social welfare system underscores the essential social liberal character of our culture.

If our desire to preserve our distinctiveness and embrace liberal social values has withstood the transitions '60s and '80s, there is every reason to believe that these same characteristics will carry over into the new millennium and continue to shape public discourse in the next century. This confluence of our enduring character, coupled with our transformed outlook, inevitably will produce new and unexpected turns in the nation's journey forward.

For the first time in two decades, Canadians now report that they can see just the magnitude of government debt and deficits. The recognized limited financial capacity of the state, perhaps more than any other public-policy development, has created the conclusion that governments cannot solve major social ills. But this situation ranks as



Essays on the MILLENNIUM

deeper and deeper desire for leadership. Canadians do not believe that governments and traditional institutions are powerless in the face of future problems. Rather they have concluded that their concerns cannot be addressed by the same old solutions that failed in the past.

The first indication of the direction this debate may take rests with the understanding that Canadians have never wholeheartedly embraced the tenets of neoconservatism. Instead, the modern-day rejection of massive public spending as the panacea to our ills flows from a pragmatic response to problems which have grown deeper and more complex as prescribed solutions went untried.

However, even as Canadians have come to accept the necessity of fiscal restraint from governments, they continue to see themselves as a generous and caring people. Add to this the growing knowledge that the gap between rich and poor has widened while the role of governments has shrunk, and it is not difficult to predict a significant shift in the policy focus as the deficit decreases in importance.

In fact, the post-deficit agenda of the future is most likely to be pre-occupied with social policy questions. This is because demand for change and reform, for the first time in two decades, is not likely to come from the right and the business class as it is from the left overclass and the have-not elements of society who view themselves as the real victims of the growing inequalities of the '90s. Paradoxically, they are also likely to be (at least initially) supported by more

moderate and "mainstream" elements who, while aware of the problems, are prepared to concede that they have thrived while others have suffered. Indeed, the limited appeal of recent proposals by the Reform and Conservative parties among the very constituency at which they were aimed—the wealthy—is evidence of the relative satisfaction and complacency of that group today.

Given the population's propensity to reject traditional spending solutions, it is unlikely that support for any new thrust into the social policy arena will be forthcoming unless the approach and framework is also new. Consequently, even as the demand for social initiatives is likely to grow, broad-based support for traditional policy options, like government-financed day care or pharmacare, is remote. Those are policies of the past that would have been applauded by the old Canada but will be rejected as impractical and ineffective by the new. That does not mean direct leaders will be able to duck their responsibilities for dealing with widely recognized issues like child poverty or the health of the spirit. Governments will have to demonstrate that it can do something about the root causes of those problems. The litmus test for good public policy in the future, therefore, will no longer be how much their sponsors care about the problem (or how much they are prepared to spend on a solution) but how effective their solutions are at getting to the source of the problem.

In fact, this criterion will virtually eliminate sub-

stantial day care or pharmacare as solutions. More likely to be approved is a framework which is based on the long term, is focused on the social context of the problem, and integrates diverse perspectives into the solution. In this scenario, rather than provide care, subsidized day care for all mothers who wish to work, a new framework might involve the following: making child care available only to single mothers who agree to further postsecondary education, which, in turn, would be paid for by prospective employers, introducing specialized nutritional programs for children at risk, which might be delivered by private sector organizations, and establishing parent-coaching centers, which would be run by the local church.

While the challenge will be to stop spending in the near, time-tested patterns, a measure transference of leadership from one generation to another offers the prospect of doing the nation's business in a fundamentally different way. Today, Jean Charest is the only national figure who represents the largest generation in society. The fact is that virtually all other leaders in government, business, labor and the church came from a generation that grew up in the period immediately following the War. In the next 10 years, they will join along the parade of leadership to those who grew up in the '60s.

Those in power today grew up in a time that stressed the importance of continuity and conformity. On the other hand, the socialization of the

The Promise Keepers, Charest, Spice Girls: The Next Generation is re-embracing responsibility, discovering its own voice and creating its own role models.

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FILMS

dressed as a school bus. Why? Well, to make me feel welcome, and to show that Canadians can be just as outspoken and audacious as their American cousins. Her plan is to find someone who can dress up as the Titanic, and have the two "public carriers" crash into each other. Sorry, kids, it's just a little Canuck bait we have. What gets me is that this sort of thing actually gets coverage.

March 21, Los Angeles. The *Spirit* triumph was best foreign film at the Independent Spirit Awards. What "independent" means has become a little murky in the past few years, since all the major studios have set up divisions to make " indie-spirited " films, and companies like Miramax and New Line are barely underdogs anymore. Anyway, I make a speech that seems to go over really well, thinking the people and institutions in Canada that have allowed us to stay independent. Later, at the ultimate Hollywood party at the palatial seaside home of legendary agent M. Lasker, I meet Norman Jewison. He's in great form, and is obviously thrilled about the nomination. He introduces me to Jack Valenti, the notorious president of the Motion Picture Association of America. Valenti is an ex-



Emma Thompson, Jim Carrey with Sir Elton at his party: perfect host

transfinitely slick and charming guy who has come to represent the concept that what is good for America is good for the world, the philosophy behind the fact that there are hardly any scenes in our country for Canadian films. Whenever our government makes any concessions that will help support our distribution and exhibition, it's Valenti who's sent up to convince it that what Canadians really want to see are more stars and stripes. After all, it's the same culture, isn't it? Norman introduces me and says "Jack, Alex, just wait for her to forgive him at the Spirit Awards. Get it, Jack? It's a foreign movie. Canada is a foreign country." What a great moment! Valenti is genuinely taken aback, though he is, in his incredibly charming way, very complimentary of the film.

For the next few hours, Alex and I find through the most concentrated collection of celebrities you can imagine. Everyone is at this party. And, astonishingly, everyone has seen the film. The amazing thing is seeing so many stars pressed together in such a private setting. No one is prohibited as the lavish buffet meal is served. Get in line, Robert De Niro? I don't care who you are, Arnold, I was here first! Sorry, Ming, can I get a towel to help soak that soap off your dress? You get the idea.

March 23, Los Angeles. 1:30 p.m., two hours before our pickup. Makeup and hair people are bustling over. Aristotle is in the hotel bathroom, and I'm sitting here, trying into this machine. Am I nervous? A little. It's strange, since this is nowhere near as nerve-racking as Cannes. That's to be expected, I suppose, since Cannes was a world premiere, and the sense of anticipation was unfilled (the film could barely). This is a celebration—everyone knows the film is good, the critics are willing to see what the 5,000 members of the academy think of my directing and screenplay. The odds are heaped against me, and *Titanic* is fully expected to sweep the awards.

Yesterday, at the Alliance party at the Ivy restaurant, I met all the ex-patriate Canadians here in Los Angeles. A very warm celebration. But it was strange hearing Jack Campbell trying to explain why this year, of all years, the Canadian Consulate did not host its tra-

ditional Oscar reception—especially when *Alliance* had offered to pay for it! Instead, Kate invited me down for a reception "some time in a couple of weeks" and asked me if there was anyone I liked to meet. Weird.

March 24, Los Angeles-Toronto. There's got to be a morning after. We didn't win, James Cameron did. So did Curtis Hanson for *L.A. Confidential*'s screenplay. No surprise, except I was very calm the whole night. There was one moment, when Walter Martin passed me his opened the envelope for best adapted screenplay, when I thought we had won, but, alas, that did not come to pass.

The red carpet on the way in was an ordeal. For an hour and a half Aristotle and I had to deal with the world press as it asked us what we were wearing, how we were feeling, what we would do "if," etc. At one point, a reporter from African television asked me how it felt to be there as an African film director. What? Oh, yes, I remembered that I was born in Egypt. It's extraordinary how everyone wants a piece of success. The ceremony itself was entertaining; it was the 70th birthday party after all—and Billy Crystal is a

inspired performer. At one point, all the past Oscar winners—including Shirley Temple—were onstage for a "family album" photo. The thing about American popular culture is its amazing ability to compulsively reproduce itself. As a viewer, you can't help but find it moving, since so much of your own childhood is involved in what you see. When Billy Crystal sings a song about *Titanic* to the tune of Gershwin's *Rhapsody*, you are not consciously given the impression that something completely outside your experience—this movie about the ship of ill-fated brass—is something you've already seen a hundred times. How can Canadians compete with the sheer massitude of that sort of self-referential mythology?

Speaking of mythology, the parties afterwards were exactly what you'd dream of. At the Governor's Ball right after the awards, I was alone and I went seated at the Bopha Alpha table, which meant that I got to sit beside Julianne Moore. Ever since I saw her perform in *Shirt Club* and *Safe*, I'd always wanted to meet her. The irony of Hollywood is that two years ago, when I was casting for an ill-fated Warner Bros. movie (a thriller called *Dead Sleep*), my agents didn't let me meet her. They told me that the lady posed as the project and wasn't a big fan of Aristotle. Now, I get the truth. She hadn't even seen *Titanic*! How can these people tell you such bald-faced lies, then completely forget that you might meet their client at a party? Later, at the Ruddy Fair Site, I met James Brooks, the director of *As Good As It Gets*, and told him how sorry I was about stealing his nomination (he was nominated for best picture but not best director). He started to laugh rather maliciously, and I couldn't tell whether he was genuinely amused or wanted to struggle me.

Finally, we went to Elton John's party. We were not at the door by a kind young man who showed us to the corner, he asked if I'd like to meet "Sir Elton." Well, talk about a perfect host! Sir Elton said he loved the film, and asked if he could get to drink! No, he didn't soap his fingers and have someone else get them. He actually went to the bar himself and brought us two drinks. I was going to ask him if he could go back and drop in an olive, but that would probably have been pushing it. □

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Books

Program for peace

Michael Ignatieff is not content to hone his liberalism while ensconced in an overstuffed armchair. The Toronto-born, London-based writer has travelled into the world's darker areas to see what happens when states collapse into the medieval chaos of ethnic war. The cosmopolitan media centre of New York City and London were under-estimating the enduring potency of tribal loyalties, he wrote in his 1993 book, *Blood and Belonging*. Ethnic warlords still thrive; for bloody vengeance, ready to tear down civil society in order to correct their historic grievances. Now, in *The Warrior's Honor* (Viking, \$27.95, 320 pp.), Ignatieff continues his philosopher-journalist tour through the human wreckage of late-20th-century horror spots. In this never breezy but always provocative essay, he tries to determine why we care about the fate of those consumed by brutality in distant places, and asks how the misery might be ended rather than simply eased.

The *Warrior's Honor* is one of the first

books to examine the reasons behind the emergence of what Ignatieff calls "tribal wars, interventionism," the kind of riot workers, diplomats and peacekeepers who show up everywhere from Bosnian refugee camps to the blasted ruins of the Balkans. Humanitarian concern for the victims of war gives

Can apologies heal ethnic strife?

Ignatieff provocative

immensurably once television began focusing its emotional eye on the suffering. Ignatieff argues that the world is dividing itself into two zones: a place of safety and affluence, and a dangerous jungle. Violence, meanwhile, "has become the principal radiation between the suffering of



Michael Ignatieff

strangers and the consciences of those in the world's few remaining zones of safety." But he also warns that this emergence of universal concern is not enough to permanently end the suffering. As before, well-intentioned aid workers have become a bane on our conscience, belligerents have learned how to exploit their presence for food, medicine and cover for their war aims. "What these places need are states," writes Ignatieff, referring to the kind of civil society we take for granted. "And in a post-political age, that is the one thing that outsiders cannot give them."

Ignatieff questions whether the current fervor for international courts (such as the war crimes tribunal at The Hague) will bring about the reconciliation these troubled places need. Instead, he suggests the conditions for lasting peace depend on leaders mutually apologizing for the sins that led to war. Ignatieff cites the late German chancellor Willy Brandt dropping to his knees at a death camp as an example of a symbolic act that had the required cultural effect. "Mutual apology accepts that history is not fate, that history is not to blame." It is perhaps a touch of Pollyanna from a writer whose intellectual gaze is otherwise firmly realistic. But it is founded well within the many liberal dogmas towards hope.

BRUCE WALLACE

ILLUSTRATION BY JIMMY

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Health MONITOR

Helping the young to butt out

British Columbia stepped up its campaign to stop children from smoking as veterans lawyer and former judge Thomas Berger told a Vancouver conference on Tobacco and Kids that the province hoped to bring tobacco firms to their knees "in a lawsuit expected to be launched during the next few months." Using statistics that show 90 per cent of smokers started before the age of 19, B.C. Health Minister Percy Priddy told delegates the province will require vendors to post anti-tobacco warnings and go-no-purchase signs. The province also increased fines for selling tobacco to minors to \$500 from \$200—all relatively mild compared with fines in Ontario, which can, in some circumstances, reach up to \$300,000. Noting that about 60 people a day die in Canada as a result of cigarette smoking, Berger said that children—and society as a whole—have



*Teenage smokers: the right to be protected from a substance that can kill or injure**

the right to be protected from a highly addictive substance that can kill or injure." He added that the province's lawsuit—the first to be brought against the

industry by a Canadian government—would try to recoup some of the health care costs incurred from "ills caused by tobacco and tobacco products."

Help wanted in geriatrics

With the first wave of baby boomers due to hit 65 in the year 2001, concern is growing over the relatively small number of doctors specialising in geriatric medicine. According to the renowned Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons, during the past decade only about 20 medical school graduates a year were licensed as geriatricians. Moreover, there are currently only about 120 certified geriatricians in the country. Compared

with some higher-profile specializations, geriatrics is regarded among students as poorly paid for the demands it imposes. "A lot of the elderly have major medical problems such as dementia," said Dr. Karl DeCotruis, head of gerontology at St. Michael's City Hospital, "and it takes a lot of time and training to do a good job with them." Experts said that besides training new geriatricians, another way of approaching the shortage would be to ensure that more family physicians and other specialists become more proficient in meeting the special medical needs of the elderly.

Facing the millennium bug

A million announced \$100 initiatives is not enough, to solve the problems expected to afflict the health system at the start of the year 2000. The grant is in response to warnings that the so-called millennium bug could shut down computer systems, increasing those used to manage medical records and in such sophisticated health-care equipment as heart and lung machines and scanning devices. The problem arises because some computers use only two digits to indicate the year.

These machines may malfunction at the stroke of midnight on Dec. 31, 1999, because they are not programmed to understand the digits 00 as meaning the year 2000. Officials at Edmonton's Capital Health Authority, which operates seven hospitals, said just upgrading its own computer system would cost an estimated \$74 million. Eliminating the millennium bug in computers used for all purposes across Canada is expected to cost about \$12 billion.

Home care means savings

A Saskatchewan study has confirmed what cost-cutting politicians have been asserting all along—that providing patients who are not critically ill with home-care services costs less than keeping them in hospital. A two-year study by a provincial commission also found that home care in these circumstances does not cause any significant differences in patient recovery or shift the burden of care to family members. The researchers said the amount of time contributed by family was the same whether patients stayed in hospital or returned home. The commission concluded that providing patients with such at-home services as nursing, housekeeping help and meals over a 30-day period cost \$420 less per patient than keeping them in hospital—and could lead to annual savings of at least \$30 million if applied to all noncritical patients in the province. Federal Health Minister Allan Rock is trying to encourage provinces to boost home-care services as a way of reducing health-care costs.

Funding feuds

Teachers and boards assail Ontario's plan

BY ROBERT SHEPPARD

History crept quietly into Ontario's classrooms last week. Amid the finger-pointing, name-calling and threats of school closures, it was not always easy to take its presence still. For the first time since Confederation, Catholic schoolchildren in Ontario—roughly a third of the province's nearly two million schoolgoers—are now on an equal financial footing with their counterparts in the public system. No more cramped classrooms, scrambling for books or holding food eaters just to get paper for art class and the photocopier. Well, not so much of that, anyway. The list of the Roman Catholic school boards in Ontario, along with most of the small, rural, cash-strapped public boards, should improve modestly under the provincial government's new funding formula—at the expense of the big, multilingual, multi-purpose boards in Toronto, Ottawa and Mississauga in particular. In a province with a history of religious school wars—including many court battles to broaden or narrow the base of religious schooling—last week's announcement was a major noise change.

But change will not come easily in the most expensive school system in the country, where teachers and parents are still reeling from a bitter two-week teachers' strike in the fall over the government's last attempt at education reform. Already, two of the province's largest teachers' unions have pledged a \$1-million political fund to boost out Premier Mike Harris's Conservatives, and the depth of mistrust among the government, the teachers and the largest school boards in the province is palpable.

The parties' animosity is the backdrop for the impact of the newly announced changes. The leaders of the largest school boards say the government has grossly underestimated their real spending costs while calculating the new formula. But they all understand one thing: The Tories are trying to centralize control of education in Ontario as never before with specifically targeted grants that leave boards with little room for individualism.

Unraveling his program in a high school library in Pickering, an Ontario eastern border town, Education Minister Dennis Johnston looks at "Lae, lae" from business public school teachers. Standing modestly at the rear of the room, Mgr. Dennis Murphy, director of Catholic education for the trustees' association, permitted himself an indulgent smile. "It is a historic day," he said, "in the sense that what is promised here is equity, something that Catholic boards have been struggling for years and years to achieve." But even he had reservations. "I want to see the final numbers first."

Indeed, the fine print, Johnston says, he wants to maintain total school funding in Ontario at \$14.4 billion over the next three years while shifting \$855 million of that from administrative and custodial budgets into the classroom. That means direct classroom spending should rise in all of the province's 72 school boards, the minister said. And establishing legislated board-wide maximums on class size—25 in elementary schools, 22 in high schools will re-

The redistribution will be felt most by the big boards in Toronto, Ottawa and other major cities, which until Jan. 1 had their own tax base to draw from. Aside from finding new ways to cut administrative costs, they face the prospect of cutting popular programs because of what they say is the inflexibility of the classroom spending formula. A case in point is Ryerson Community Public School in downtown Toronto, where three-quarters of the 665 students do not have English as a first language. One special program there has allowed stu-

dent teachers, they may also fail to satisfy many Harris supporters who wanted the system shaken to its roots. "If the province is still spending \$14.4 billion on education three years from now and when the Harris government came in its 1995 spending was \$14 billion, it's so, just what was it accomplished?" said the University of Toronto's Stephen Lawton, a specialist in school financing. The spending overall spending is at its current level for three years, the government seems to be backing down on its earlier, leaked, plan to cut a further \$800-million from the education budget.

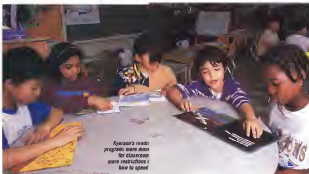
Critics of Ontario's historically high spending on schooling note that it has been no guarantee of academic success. Recent international tests of 9- and 13-year-olds have shown Ontario students lagging well below the national average in science and math. Spending in the province ranges widely from a low of about \$4,700 per student in some boards—still higher than the per-student average in Saskatchewan—to a high of \$6,300, according to the most recent figures.

In consolidating its school boards to 72 from 129 last year and targeting its funding towards specific objectives, Ontario is following the lead of the other big "three" provinces, Alberta and British Columbia, in two important respects, Lawton says. First, it has taken over all funding of the elementary and secondary school system directly, leaving only Saskatchewan, Manitoba and, to a lesser degree, Quebec, among provinces allowing school boards to raise taxes locally. As well, it has directed its grants in a way that permits school boards to exercise only a limited amount of grade-offs within the budgetary pie. Money for special-needs students, for example, must be spent on those students or it reverts to the province.

In recent months, however, British Columbia, Alberta and Saskatchewan have announced increases in school spending and, in Alberta's case, a slight loosening of the rules for moving grants from one purpose to another. In Ontario, spending overall spending—with inflation and with enrollment expected to increase 1.4 per cent next year—should sustain the trend of the past five years of spending about \$100 a year less per student, Lawton says.

Everywhere, Johnston gives these days' teachers and their supporters more and louder hits mercilessly—in a possible forerunner of the next election campaign. In the computer library and computer resource centre at Pickering's Pius Ridge Secondary School, where he made the initial announcement, students cringed in embarrassment at the constant noise protests. "It was pretty annoying," said Nikki Lewis, 17, who sometimes had sympathy for the teachers. "You could see the tears in their eyes and how humble they were about their jobs and stuff."

But the system now is not working well, noted Niki Randall, 18, president of the Pius Ridge student council. She takes her chemistry courses in one of the 13 portable classrooms outside the school's main entrance, and likes to look free and want to use the labs inside the building. At the back of the room, while reporters dashed about recording the grievances of students, union leaders and school board officials, a bearded Mgr. Murphy shook his head, above the fray for once, no one to grudge. A new era has begun. (C)



quire the hiring of an additional 3,000 teachers over the next three years to stay a half-hour longer each day to study one of seven languages. But the new funding formula severely limits the ability grade languages offered by outside instructors. As well, students in school boards to shift revenue among programs as they see fit. The only grades spend a quiet hour each day just reading books in Carolina Lane, the director of education for the hard-hit Ottawa English, with teacher supervision that goes beyond normal classwork. Carleton District School Board, puts it: "This is the classroom model. 'How do we pay for this?' warden principal Christine Bolton. "I don't see it as a model in the new funding envelope."

But if the new school financing mechanism are flourishing,

CLASSROOM MATH

Ontario tops the provinces in money spent per student, '96-'97
(Excludes capital costs)



Allan Fotheringham

Where have all the political giants gone?

One day Pierre Trudeau, the coolest cat who ever played with politics, stood in front of the dawning Ottawa press asking for details about the disintegration of his marriage to his young wife who had run off with The Rolling Stones.

As always, he was completely controlled, amazingly superior, the man who told his bride that his family motto was "innocent before prison." Only one thing was wrong: He was wearing mismatched socks.

One day, as a little-known junior minister, he soared into the headlines by pronouncing the quote he is always known for: "The state has no place in the nation's bedrooms." It was stolen (by a lovely speech writer perhaps) from an editorial written the week previous in *The Globe and Mail* by Martin O'Malley.

One day, Pierre Trudeau drove up the long and lovely winding driveway to Rideau Hall to announce his resignation as prime minister to the Governor General. The shivering press, as usual, was on scene on a sunny morning as the coolest cat soared up in his usually hidden silver Mercedes-Benz convertible, a carefully constructed, barely visible symbol. As he came to a stop, he noticed your doctored agent standing beside the front door—and ran over my foot.

He used to punch me in the stomach as he left a press conference, an insult I took as a compliment, as someone who thought my intelligence as a columnist suited him.

One night we were in Rome, at a G-7 conference in Venice, on the way to London and Norway. It was midnight, on a rooftop terrace overlooking the Tiber under a luminous moon, the home of Raffi Perry, late of Medefire Hat, Alta, the famed and fashionable photographer. Waiters and waitresses of about the different sizes served smoked salmon and champagne. Raffi's father, late of Medefire Hat, looked about, completely confused.

Your dutiful agent had been sexed up by Suzanne Perry, Trudeau's beautiful Ottawa wife, and Pat Gossage, his third press secretary. On discovering the sole journalist present, Raffi said: "Oh, Fotheringham. I can't go anywhere but find you around. But I'll give you one credit: You're very good at making enemies. You're real one



of Celine de Bergeron. You wouldn't understand this barf—and he launched off into a long quotation in French from the long-creased one, "Froese Minister," I replied, "I obviously could not be cultured. Do from Western Canada." We did not speak again for three years.

He was, as we know, the most fascinating prime minister we have had since Mackenzie King, that lovable little cutie who talked to his dead dog and his long-expired mother in heaven. And never married. Trudeau married, sort of, a charming bachelor of 54 who starved the nation by holding a stunning beauty of 22 from Vancouver. What he wanted, of course, was a blond naïve and older three nice sons were born, the star-crossed marriage collapsed as obviously it would—as doomed as the Prince Charles/Diana thing was doomed.

The reason he was elected in 1980 was because of John Kennedy, Canadian who was much disliked in America by the charming, witty, midwesterner who captured a beautiful young bride. Several years later, the traditionally humble Canadian was disgraced at finding a charming, witty, midwesterner politician who was even better—Edmonton.

The usual Canadian deferential attitude to rich and successful Americans was turned into strong acceptance. I've got one better: Vegas.

"He hasn't as still." That was the opening sentence in Christina McCall and Stephen Clarkson's fine two-volume account of the Trudeau scandal: saga. When, at 71, he announced not only money but the brilliant Deborah Coyne, progeny of a famous Winnipeg family, there was a wonderful cartoon in a newspaper. When a writer asks a patron what he would like, the guy points to a lone Trudeau sitting off in the corner of the restaurant and says: "I'll have what he's having."

The guy who hasn't as still, and used to run over my foot, broke the *Maclean's* newsmagazine sales record when he came out against the Meach Lake record. Now 71, his physical health is good, but his memory, as he candidly admits, is fading—Hailamers, as some of us who are suffering from it confess. Yet he could, we predict, still cause a sensation by pronouncing his views on the leader of the federal Conservative party suddenly covering his face to the leader of the Quebec Liberal party. We would love the sudden bombast that, we can assure you, would lead *The National* that night. Not to mention every paper in the land.

One day, a nervous young Liberal cabinet minister named Jon Chretien found himself seated in a small government jet beside his prime minister on the way to an evening speech. The PM snarled himself in his briefing notes, never speaking a word for an hour.

Chretien, noticing a splattering of specs on his window and hoping to break the ice, said: "It's raining outside." Trudeau, not missing his eyes from his papers, said: "If it's raining, it must be outside." The trip continued in silence.

They don't make giants much anymore.



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